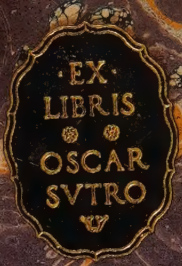
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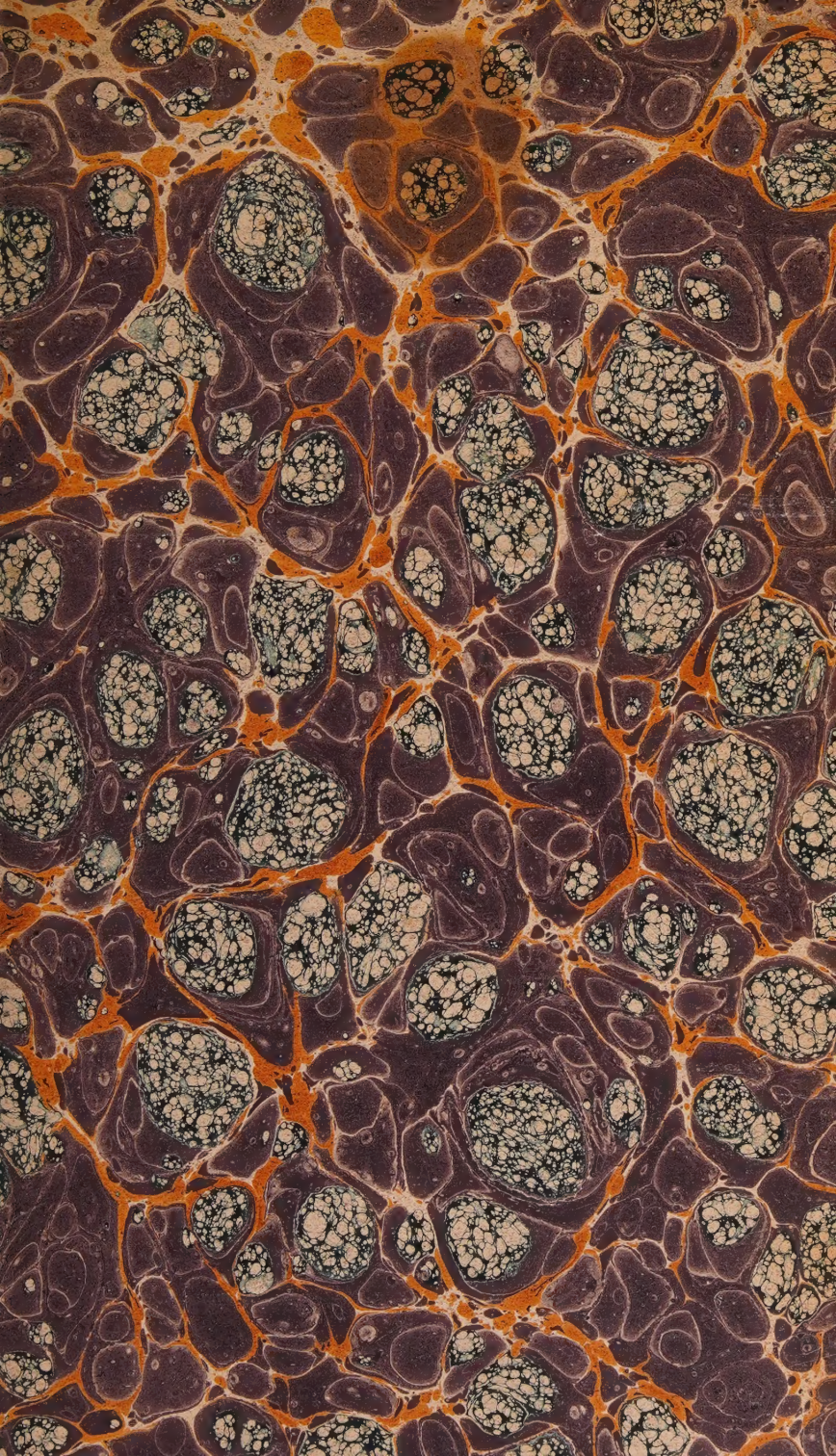

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MEMOIRS

OF

JOAN D'ARC, OR, DU LYS,

COMMONLY CALLED,

THE MAID OF ORLEANS.

MEMOIRS

OF

JOAN D'ARC, OR, DU LYS,

COMMONLY CALLED,

THE MAID OF ORLEANS,

CHIEFLY FROM THE FRENCH OF

THE ABBÉ LENGLET DU FRESNOY,

WITH

AN APPENDIX AND NOTES,

By GEO. ANN GRAVE.

Non tamen indecorem tua te regina relinquet
Extremâ jam in morte; neque hoc sine nomine letum
Per gentes erit, aut famam patieris inultæ.

VIRGIL. ÆN.

Nor yet in death thy goddess will disclaim
Her favour'd maid, but crown with endless fame!
Thy praise shall round the nations be display'd,
And to thy fate due vengeance shall be paid.

PITT.

EGHAM.

PRINTED BY C. C. WETTON,

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LONDON.

1812.

TO MARIA,

THE RELICT OF COLONEL DAVID COLLINS,

LATE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

OF THE

BRITISH COLONY, IN VAN DIEMEN'S LAND,

THIS volume is dedicated with all the warmth of personal friendship, and of national gratitude.

So long as our peerage lasts, its collected records will transmit the name of Collins, as appertaining to the learned and indefatigable antiquarian; and so long as our colonies flourish in the southern hemisphere, the elegant historian of a semi-barbarous community, will have perpetuated his grandfather's historical fame; in whose family the sword and the pen seem to have been not merely hereditary, but ren-

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dered doubly serviceable by the versatile talents of their late inheritor. Whether as historian, administrator of justice, or uniting civil and military command, the soldier and the scholar, were evidently united to the gentleman, in him who forsook polished society and domestic comforts, for perils, hardships, and deprivations, incidental indeed to his station, but more threatening than the din of battle.

The partner of his name has not been deficient in her sacrifice to arduous duties, nor has her literary talent been buried.—Long may she be spared to friends who best know her value!—long find in their social affections, and her own conscience, a compensation for the severed ties of nature!

PREFACE.

In this age of refinement, when the number of writers almost equals that of readers, when the cacoethes scribendi pervades all ranks, some powerful passport should authors produce, before they launch into so vast an ocean; their vessels must be fraught with some uncommon commodities, to suit a market already overstocked, where the best of merchandise is often tossed over with a palled and sickly fancy, which eagerly catches at novelty, to throw that aside in its turn: though from such several materials are formed garments of all sorts and sizes, seldom are they purchased or put on for salutary warmth, but to descant on their texture, or to admire them only as they suit the wearer's complexion. Matronly suits of divinity and ethicks occupy the

topmost shelf in seldom interrupted repose, because they are thought too cumbersome, or too large, and only bearable when we can have them vamped up with a little novel embroidery, just to serve a lowering day. Productions of skilful looms are still acknowledged favourites, but unfortunately, the fag-ends of the pieces are sometimes preferred to the prime; while with all these rich vestments at command, some new-imported flimsey manufacture sets the market in commotion. One pearl indeed there is, of incalculable purity and value, (whether as a head or breast ornament), which fashion has never been able to new set; which preserved as a kind of heir-loom from time immemorial, is still pretty generally respected, even by those who are blind to its full value; but many doubtless reckoning it too costly for common use, content themselves with having the casket opened one day in the week, the jewel held up on both sides for their inspection, then consigned

again to its rest. While some few contrary to evidence from the best judges, pretend to think it a baser composition, when the fact is, that having a mote of magnitude in the eye, they make use of glasses, covered with flaws and scratches.

But to drop all metaphor, it may seem doubly presumptuous in any one who entertains such opinions of the state of literature, thus to increase, what appears to want no increase. Be it remembered however, that if readers of the above description too generally abound, they are not universal; and though bundreds read a book unprofitably, its author is amply rewarded, if only one take it as intended. Let a book be read with some portion of the spirit in which it was written, let a moral reflection be bestowed after it is closed, and that work has not been in vain. Every one must allow, that the principal aim of writers ought to be utility; which now chiefly consists in blending amusement with in-

struction; how far I have succeeded in the first, these pages must answer for themselves; it is sufficient here to state, on what I ground some hopes of the latter.

While my country-women contemplate the strenuous exertions of which woman is capable, when virtue and her country point the way; while they see that all the milder graces, and the finer feelings of humanity, are no ways incompatible, with an active, dauntless, and determined spirit; in fine, that a heroine, and a virago, are as opposite as a hero and a bravo; they cannot also but perceive, how little it becomes the co-heirs of immortality, to foster by non-resistance, that enervating bias, which so far from enabling them to meet danger, scarcely, leaves them sufficient personal courage, to meet with composure the minor casualties of life. So much debility, beyond what nature gave, is in its cause too deep, and in its effects too extensively pernicious to be properly considered here. At the same

time it may be observed, that if pusillanimity be pitiable, all affectation of it is to the last degree contemptible. The soul is of no sex; in proportion as it loves peace and tranquillity, is calm, meek, and enduring for itself, so much the greater is its merit, when the wrongs and oppressions of others, rouze it to a holy indignation, making simply a duty of that exertion, which so many would deem superfluous; history records innumerable instances of women, who fulfilling all the accustomed duties set before them, have yet possessed a fund of magnanimity, sufficient for the most extraordinary and unexpected demands.

It may be urged, that now no mighty claims can be made on the patriotism of woman; that if there could, and other Joans were to arise, the due effect must now be utterly lost. Nevertheless claims there still are, which however different in their nature, demand much of a similar spirit.

Though England could once boast her

ladies Arundel, Derby, &c. who performing double duties, valiantly defended fortified mansions in obedience to their absent husbands, and in loyalty to their king; no female warriors does she now require, she asks not the death of her daughters, yet to her belongs no inconsiderable share of their hearts and lives. If a woman be incapable of personal sacrifice, how shall she bear to offer up lives far dearer than her own? How shall she prefer to be the childless mourner over an honourable grave, rather than the blushing mother of a traiterous or cowardly race? What love of country can she possibly inspire, who feels not one spark within?

Alas! I know that in these times, loyalty and patriotism are too often considered as empty names, used only as masks of party, or ensigns of faction; consequently the very existence of such beings as female patriots, may be utterly denied; yet such denial, the voice of nature frequently confutes. From whence arise those emotions of a virtuous

woman, which warmly participate in national triumphs, or calamities, which make her heart beat responsive to the grand chorus of a national air, or dilate with rapture beyond expression, at some trait of British heroism, suffusing the eye of fire with heavenly dew, and proclaiming through one universal glow, 'I too am a Briton!'

It is not expedient here to point out the various and beneficial fruits of this noble virtue, they must vary according to circumstances, and situations, but there is no station, however obscure, where they may not flourish, and if it be granted, that as the member of a community, every one owes tribute to its welfare, then they who best discharge it, in whatever sex or sphere, best serve thee, O highly favoured Albion!

> "To shake thy senate, and from heights sublime
> Of patriot eloquence to flash down fire
> Upon thy foes, was never meant my task:
> But I can feel thy fortunes, and partake
> Thy joys and sorrows, with as true a heart
> As any thund'rer there."

The principal facts of these memoirs are

from a French work, styled 'L'Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc dite la Pucelle d'Orleans,' by the Abbé Lenglet du Fresnoy, who seems to have spared no pains in gaining information upon this subject; by examining every necessary document, and comparing or analysing variety of authors, relating thereto. Of the one most generally known or esteemed in England, he observes, "No offence to Rapin Thoyras, he has not treated, but only skimmed this matter in his dissertation, he had seen the process of condemnation only in the extract given by Stephen Pasquier, and had still less seen the process of justification, which is decisive on this point. Also, he acknowledges to have known only Monstrelet, and not the other treatises made upon this heroine in her own time: and father Berthier, the Jesuit, had reason to refute him, and has done it with success."

The Abbé not content with searching numerous historians, takes his authorities from

the original registers of her trial: but in this volume, the bare facts, with their marginal references distinguished by the initial F. with parts specified of the appendix, are all that belong to M. du Fresnoy. For the language, comments, and notes, for the introduction, and supplementary remarks, as well as for the citation of any other historian, I alone am responsible.

The subject may appear to have been treated too concisely, it is undoubtedly capable of extension, but to dwell long on battles and sieges, is a topick the least pleasing to female readers, or perhaps to any, except military men. It were insulting to the reader, and worse than affectation in me, to represent myself indifferent to success. As yet young, gratitude, with a prospect of further utility, might stimulate to maturer exertions, but fondly attached by nature and habit, to the shades of retirement, old enough to know that good intent must often shake hands with disap-

pointment, no failure can ever destroy the comfort of this reflection, that I am not conscious of a single passage, wherewith 'the accusing spirit,' need 'fly to Heaven's chancery!'

INTRODUCTION.

In contrasting the troublous and ferocious annals of this historical essay, with the more splendid period of our third Edward, it is impossible to mark without regret, such a check to the progress of civilization; obscuring for a while, even that generous spirit of chivalry which mitigated the furies of war; in vain we look for such a constellation of transcendant heroes, as the two royal Edwards, as John of France,[1] Chandos,[2] du Gues-

(1) To this monarch belongs the memorable observation, that "If honour and good faith were banished from the rest of mankind, they ought ever to be found in the breast of princes." He died in the Savoy palace at London, A. D. 1364, aged 44.

(2) The lord John Chandos, bore a conspicuous part in the campaigns of Edward, prince of Wales, who made him constable of Acquitaine, and afterwards in place of lord Audley, seneschal of Poictou; he was mortally wounded at the bridge of Lussacia, and died universally lamented, A. D. 1370.

The French king said mournfully, "There was not any knight, then living, so likely to have renewed the peace, between the two crowns as he; being so dear to king Edward, and so reverenced, esteemed, and loved by all men."

clin,[1] and the captal de Buche,[2] knights like Bayard, without fear, and without reproach.[3] Men of talents, indeed and of bravery, were to be found at the period of these memoirs, a Montagu, a Talbot, or a

(1) The most illustrious French knight of the age: he was twice taken prisoner by the English. "I have this comfort," said he to the Black Prince, "that it is reported in France and Spain, how you stand in such fear of me, that you dare not let me go; which must needs be a considerable honour for so mean a knight as I am."

Edward having accepted his ransom, he made such use of his liberty, as to recover the crown of Castile, for don Henry, and for his own sovereign, most of the English acquisitions. Du Guesclin died a natural death, at the siege of Châteauneuf de Rendon, 13th of July 1380, aged 66. He summoned to his death bed some of the old commanders who had served under him forty years, and bidding farewell, begged them never to forget what he had told them a thousand times, "That in whatever country they might wage war, ecclesiasticks, women, children, and the poor, were not their enemies."

(2) John de Greilly, captal de Buche, was not the least among these worthies; being honoured with the friendship of prince Edward, and so sensible of that distinction, that his death a few months after his royal master's, was generally imputed to excess of grief.

(3) Audley, Hawkwood, Knollis, and osher distinguished names adorned that age. Nor do the cotemporary women, queen Philippa, Jane, countess of Montford, the fair maid of Kent, &c. shine less honourably conspicuous in the chronicles of yore.

Dunois, but instances of superior virtue and magnanimity more rarely occur, or become lost in the contemplation of one extraordinary event.

To see nations professing christianity, take up arms in the most flagrant aggression abroad, or turn them against brethren at home, the bands of society loosened by treachery, murders, rapine, and brutality of every species, is a soul-sickening view of human nature; and there seems this only difference between the denizen of cities, and the savage of the desert, that one possesses more extensive means of mischief. Nevertheless, historians or biographers anxious to ameliorate the future, by keeping from oblivion the errors of the past, must wade through records of blood and crime, as anatomists inspect the gangrened organs of the dead, to benefit the living world.

It is lamentably true, that in our own times, we have had demonstration of what man is capable, when given up to his own inventions. The eighteenth century, beheld a people styling themselves the most polished, plunge into greater barbarism than

their ancestors, till wearied with inventive tortures, they transform the sithe of death into a guillotine, and level all distinctions: nor this merely in the first effervescence of rage, but coolly, almost systematically shedding innocent blood enough to turn their waters like the first plague of Pharoah; and because they were not sufficiently brutalized, publicly renounce their acknowledgement of the tri-une God, destroying or polluting every trace of his worship. But for this gloomy demonstration, many might be inclined to suspect of infidelity or exaggeration, those foul pages in history, which represent man so often preying on his species, with avidity similar to that of the half-famished tiger. France no longer glories in avowed impiety, yet regardless of friend or foe, she seeks the empire of the world, and we now see two gallant nations struggling for existence, something like their invading neighbour, in the fifteenth century. It cannot therefore be ill-timed, to shew how a kingdom reduced almost to its last gasp may be revived by circumstances unforeseen, and that in a just

circumstances unforeseen, and that in a just cause, hope to the last, is no less a virtue than resignation, when hope is swallowed up in certainty.

In order more fully to appreciate the reverse of fortune to which Joan d'Arc was instrumental, it is necessary to take a cursory review of state affairs, prior to her public appearance.

CHARLES VI.

In whose reign her birth took place, was one of the most unfortunate of the race of Valois; inheriting the throne at twelve years of age, his father's tuition lost its effect through the negligence of guardians at variance with each other, a natural soundness of judgement however, and goodness of heart, which gained him the cognomen of 'well beloved,' a bravery which had signalized itself, particularly against the Flemings, at Rosebecq, apparently promised France, a popular, if not brilliant reign; when the following singular incident blighted that promise, and was the forerunner of all its miseries.

A.D. 1380.

1393, TO 1403.

He had but just recovered from fever, attended with delirium, at Amiens, and in the height of summer was marching his army into Bretagne, to demand from its duke, the restitution of Craon, a criminal refugè,[1] when some man darting from a forest they were traversing, seized hold of the king's bridle, exclaiming, "Stop! where go you? you are betrayed!" then quickly disappeared among the woods; Charles regardless of this address, which is supposed to have been some state stratagem, continued his march, till shortly after, the page who bore his lance, happening to doze on horseback, let it fall against the royal helmet, which another carried before him. The sudden clash, with the recollection of a mysterious warning, operating instantaneously on a mind depressed by bodily weakness, wound it up to phrensy; under the impression of being betrayed, he before they could secure him, killed and wounded

(1) Peter Craon had attempted the constable de Clisson's life, with the cowardly aid of twenty soldiers, and leaving him for dead at the door of a tradesman's shop in Paris, fled into Brittany.

The criminal was afterwards pardoned.

several of his attendants, among the first victims, his unlucky page: at length, exhausted by the fit, he was bound down senseless in a cart, and carried to Mans; three days elapsed before his intellects returned, and far beneath their former vigour, they were however slowly rallying when accident again dispersed them.

At a court-ball, some maskers having entered disguised as bears chained together, their pitched dresses caught fire, which communicating to the apartments, some lives were lost, and Charles might have shared their fate, had not his aunt, the dutchess of Berri, covered him with her mantle; but his phrensy returned with augmented force, and attacked him at frequent intervals the remainder of his days. While his sister-in-law lived, the amiable but neglected spouse of Orleans, during these paroxysms, he recognised no one else, only Valentina,[1] retained any influence over his disordered mind, which

(1) She was the daughter of John Galeazzo Visconti, first duke of Milan, and espoused in the year 1389, Louis, duke of Orleans, whose licentious heart, her charms and virtues could not fix; nor even that affection which shortened her days.

the superstitious imputed to magic, widely different from that of a friendly voice, a sweet disposition, and a heart uncontaminated by surrounding vice; merits, doubtless too deeply impressed on the monarch's rational mind, as well by fraternal regard, as by contradistinction with those around him, not to preserve some habitual effect in his irrational state: in consequence of that situation, his brother Louis, duke of Orleans, aspired to the regency, but a general assembly of the states, preferring the maturer years of his uncle Philip the Hardy(1) duke of Burgundy, conferred it upon him, together with the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, adjuncts more nominal than real. Louis, indignant, ill-brooked this arrangement, continually seeking to contravene it, he at last superseded his uncle, but Philip quickly regained his authority, and maintained it till the afflicted monarch awakening from a long relapse, authorized a regency of his

(1) The favourite son of John, king of France, who when the dutchy of Burgundy merged in the crown, upon the extinction of its first ducal race, bestowed it in appennage upon Philip and his heirs; thus consulting paternal indulgence, rather than regal policy.

queen and council, to the exclusion of both princes.

1404, to 1406. Philip the Hardy soon after expired at Halle in Brabant, leaving his eldest son John, surnamed 'Fearless,' successor to his high pretensions, as well as his increasing territory; the king's lapse to insanity gave fresh scope to these pretensions, and numbers, especially Parisians, disgusted with their infamous queen, who had entered into connections with the duke of Orleans, no less criminal than political, invited their favourite Burgundy to assume the government. Accordingly, well-attended he entered Paris, amid the acclamations of its citizens, while the queen and her paramour retreated to Melun; but at length, some who yet dared to evince moderation, and deprecated the scourge of civil war, mediated a reconciliation between the parties, every word and deed of solemnity, that could be supposed binding between man and man, were resorted to upon this occasion; at God's altar they partook the consecrated wafer, mutually embraced, and vowed eternal amity; yet, after a sufficient

A.D. 1407. time elapsed to lull suspicion, Louis was on the 23d of September assassinated at Paris, in the street Barbette, by order of his perfidious kinsman; an act meditated and executed with peculiar marks of atrocity, for in addition to other appearances of concord, duke John hearing that his intended victim was slightly indisposed, called to see him, paid apparently the most affectionate attentions, and accepted an invitation to dine with him the ensuing Sunday; but as Louis was returning home at night from the palace of St. Paul, where the queen resided, mounted on a mule, with only three attendants, he was attacked by eighteen assassins, who at three blows lopped off his hand, struck him from his mule, and clove his skull, then fled for concealment to their employer's palace; he himself assisting at the first council held in consequence of this murder, affected great zeal for discovering its perpetrators: but whether from any transient sense of compunction, or from some new stroke of policy, afterwards called one of his uncles aside, and confessed himself the instigator:

his kinsman, aghast at such intelligence, adjourned the council, which on its re-assembly, refused the murderer admittance, and he immediately retiring to Flanders, resolved to attempt some justification. Dr. John Petit,[1] a member of the university of Paris, noted for his eloquence, was base enough to degrade it in such a service. He ransacked history sacred and profane, for arguments; accusing the deceased prince of almost every imaginable crime but the right, not forgetting the usual handle of sorcery, and reviving the accident of the masks as a premeditated attempt upon his brother's life. Through want of power as well as spirit, government accepted this farce of justification, though at a future period, it was sentenced to be burnt by a common executioner.

1408, to 1410.

The widowed dutchess, with her children, in vain appealed for justice, she obtained by her chancellor, a hearing before the king in parliament, which excited only fruitless

(1) His defence of the duke is very curious, and of great length; it quotes '*the knights*' Absalom, Joab, &c. as authorities for assassination!

pity, promises never fulfilled, and terminated in a forced reconciliation at Chartres between her children and their enemy: sick at heart, her death in the flower of age, rendered them doubly orphans, and him twice a murderer, who for awhile, remained unmolested in power; but the wounds he had inflicted were too deep to be thus easily healed, the young duke of Orleans proceeded to open hostilities, and being joined by his father-in-law count d'Armagnac, their party acquired the appellation of Armagnacs.

1410, to 1415.

Then began afresh, the reign of anarchy and confusion, as each faction triumphed, the other was proscribed; Paris presented the chief theatre of massacre, and her citizens being mostly in the Burgundian interest, especially the butchers, who enjoyed more privileges than other trades, the Orleans' party suffered most; at times, numbers of them perished in the châtelet and other prisons, with cold and hunger, their bodies denied the decency of sepulchre, cast into ditches beyond the walls. At times, those prisons were forcibly entered,

the captives slaughtered, their mangled remains dragged about the streets or gibbetted with every token of derision. If a man from personal hatred, would sacrifice one of his own party, he had only to cry, "There goes an Armagnac!" and his revenge was complete.

With treachery unworthy knighthood, and regardless of hospitality's sacred rites, the noble was often entrapped in his own castle, or that of a false kinsman. Fortified towns endured from blockades, extremity of want; alternately taken or forsaken, their inhabitants were pillaged, insulted, and slain; while in villages, a wretched peasantry, sorely burdened by both factions, seeing the fruits of labour blasted, the hamlets burnt, the champaign desolated, flew to the opposing standards, or turned bandits to revenge themselves on both: their monarch only less wretched than themselves, because less conscious, became whether sane or not, the tool of each ascendant party, himself neglected, his revenues wasted, and his splendour lost!

The only gleam of hope arising from the

young dauphin Louis, his character speedily obscured, passionate and capricious, haughty and dissolute, grasping at power, without the power to hold it, he soon rouzed the suspicions of his father-in-law, the duke of Burgundy, who persuaded of his intention to escape from Paris, secretly prompted the citizens to revolt; they insolently detained him in the palace of St. Paul, seized in his presence several of his attendants, and vigilantly watched him till the Armagnacs again prevailed.

Miseries like these, seemed almost incapable of addition, before Henry the fifth of England prepared to aggravate them; that Henry, who graced the ascension to his throne, with a nobler conquest than the sword ever achieved; but who stimulated no less by passion for martial renown, than by the policy, which induces usurpers to turn their arms against other countries, revived the dormant pretensions of Edward, first making the following demands; the French princess Catherine in marriage, with a dowry of two million crowns, the arrears

of king John's ransom, the superiority of Brittany and Flanders, with the restoration of Normandy, and all other former possessions of the English. These, exorbitant as they were, from a distracted administration, met with more attention than they deserved; but while any strength remained, such terms were not tamely to be endured; Henry therefore assembled at Southampton, an army of fifty thousand men, landed near Harfleur, and with the siege of that place, commenced his first campaign; he took it by storm, destroyed most of its garrison, and ravaged the adjacent country, till checked by a fatal dysentery in his army, he was already returning home, when the temerity of his enemies gained him the memorable battle of Azincour: he yet concluded with them a truce, marched on to Calais, and re-crossed the channel: during which truce, the brand of discord more fiercely flamed in France. Louis dauphin died, and his brother John, who succeeded him as heir apparent, was poisoned the next year, by which the king's youngest son,

1416 to 1418. Charles, count of Ponthieu, inherited their honours; he adhered firmly to the Armagnacs, while Isabella his mother, incensed at her private hoards having been made subservient to the public necessities by the constable d'Armagnac, and fired at still further indignities, among which the summary execution of her favourite Bois-bourbon[1] was not the least, entered into correspondence with the duke of Burgundy; having found means to send him an especial messenger, accredited by the token of a ring, he raised his camp at Corbeil, repaired to the abbey of Marmoutier whither she had pretended a devotional call, and putting an end to her captivity at Tours, raised her to the regency.

They caused a new seal to be engraven with her image, and public papers to be sanctioned in the name of 'Isabella, by the grace of God, queen of France, having the government of this realm intrusted to her,

(1) He was thrown by night into the Seine, inclosed in a sack of leather, round which was this label, "Let the king's justice pass."

during the king's illness, by an irrevocable grant made to us by our said lord and his council.'

These events were prelusive to a dreadful massacre at Paris, where the Armagnacs suspecting a plot, had been busy in cruelty.

The Burgundian chief, Villiers de L'isle Adam, gained admittance at night, and joined by five hundred citizens, beset the houses of their hated adversaries, whom they dragged to prison; nor would the dauphin have escaped, if Tannegui du Chastel had not taken him in his arms from bed to a place of greater security, which enabled his escape to Melun; while others less fortunate, endured every insult malice could devise; the pseudo court at Troyes, issued secret orders to spare none, and the populace already prepared, too well obeyed them; sparing neither age nor rank, prisoners nor gaolers, upwards of three thousand perished; among the rest count d'Armagnac, whose corpse after numerous indignities, they scotched upon the back to resemble his armorial bearings and fastened to a gibbet.

This slaughter still reeking, Isabella, with the duke, to whom historians assign a succession in her good graces, entered Paris triumphant, her path literally strewn with flowers, over the sanguinary traces of rage; and met from an unconscious husband, a reception more suited to her rank than her deserts. Most horrible was that slaughter which ensued, without distinction of sex, or innocence, human torrents deluged streets, where the quadruped sovereigns of Zaara, might have been as welcome guests as Burgundy and Isabella. At Poictiers, her son assumed the title of regent, and established a counter authority, so that two parhelions drained an impoverished land.

In this posture of affairs, Henry had reentered France with twenty-five thousand men, and receiving a reinforcement of fifteen thousand, carried all before him, still negotiating with both parties.

A. D. 1419. His siege of Rouen may serve as a specimen of Frenchmen's complicated sufferings, in those disastrous days, its citizens encountered at once, disease,

famine, and the sword; vainly awaiting Burgundian succours, they exhausted horse-flesh, vermin of various sorts, and after losing several thousand inhabitants, came to the desperate resolve of cutting a way through the besiegers, or perishing; of which Henry being informed, altered his severe designs, and granted reasonable terms.

Continued successes soon gave him the tone of a conqueror, as the following speech to the duke of Burgundy evinces. "Fair cousin, we wish you to know that we will have the daughter of your king, and all that we have asked, or we will drive him and you out of his kingdom;" to which the duke replied, "Sire, you are pleased to say so; but before you can drive my lord and me out of the kingdom, I make no doubt but that you will be heartily tired."

These two powers had nearly adjusted their differences, when duke John, not quite lost to all sense of honour, began to recollect himself, hearkened to terms of accommodation with Charles, entered into a

treaty of alliance, and agreed likewise to meet him at the bridge of Montereau-sur-Yonne, to concert measures of attack upon the English. Mistrustful caution marked this celebrated interview, they took up their quarters, one in the town, the other in its castle, separated by the bridge, in the centre of which a barrier was erected, wide enough to admit the princes with a few of their courtiers, while the gates on either side were guarded. The duke on his entrance knelt to the dauphin, one of whose attendants observed, it was not seemly for so great a man to kneel, he arose, and his sword being rather twisted round by the act of genuflexion, applied his hands to replace it, when an adherent of Charles exclaimed, "What! do you put your hand to your sword in presence of my lord?" and immediately Tannegui du Chastel aimed at him a violent blow, which carried away part of his face, and beat him down upon his knees, instantly rising, he sought to defend himself, but the blow was followed up too closely, and overpowered by numbers the utmost efforts of Archambaud de Foix, lord de Noialles

could neither save his master's life, nor his own.

Thus fell John 'the Fearless,' duke of Burgundy,[1] one among innumerable instances of signal retribution; his corpse was next day unceremoniously interred with no other covering than a doublet and drawers, in the church of Nôtre Dame, at Montereau; where twelve hasty masses were performed for his soul.

It is uncertain whether Charles, then very young, actually instigated a deed so injurious to his cause; but being committed unreproved in his presence, by his principal partisans from whom he did not the more withdraw his favour, it seemed to justify all imputations of the new duke Philip, with whom Isabella, from unnatural hatred

(1) John had some doubts about keeping this appointment: but his mistress, the lady of Giac, in whom he placed implicit confidence, treacherously persuaded him. A crime so heinous, gained her the disgraceful appellation of 'Dalilah;' and at the siege of Montereau, she was afterwards reduced to extreme distress.

For once, that we have been told 'not to place our trust in princes,' how many fatal warnings have they had, not to put trust in concubines!

towards her son, coalesced; and hastened the ratification of the famous treaty of A.D. 1420. Troyes; whereby Henry engaged to espouse the princess Catherine, was declared heir to the crown of France, and regent during the incapacity of his father-in-law.

The first of these articles was quickly fulfilled, the sword's point only could realize his inheritance: the royal bridegroom, therefore soon returned to England for supplies, leaving his uncle Exeter governor of Paris; during the interval of Henry's absence, his brother Thomas, duke of Clarence, was killed at Baugé, and de- A. D. 1421. feated by earl Buchan, commander of seven thousand Scots, in the dauphin's service; but the king's return with new levies, so obscured this partial gleam, by a series of victory, as to chase young Charles to the mountains of Auvergne, where he seemed only to await destruction, when a mightier conqueror thwarted the victor's career, who died in the prime of life, succeeded by an infant son.

A. D. 1422. Nor did Charles VI. survive him above two months, resigning his wretched existence at Paris, in the palace of St. Paul, attended by one gentleman of his bed-chamber, and two ecclesiasticks; not a peer of royal blood assisted at his funeral, which took place at St. Denis, and was no sooner ended than a herald exclaimed, "Long live Henry of Lancaster, king of France and England!"

The long and turbulent reign of Charles VI. among other reflections, forcibly suggests to us, how very much depends upon a king, or regency, selecting for their queen, a princess of moral qualifications: had Isabella of Bavaria possessed common honesty, with common sense, she might have spared both king, and kingdom variety of distress; instead of which, under the mask of personal graces, a faithless wife, an unnatural mother, ambitious, cruel, and profligate, she never seized the reins of government but to drive furiously to its ruin, or to wrest them for ever from her sole surviving son; her afflicted lord was left a prey to want, as well

as disease, while she revelled in luxury with his only brother, or shared the power of the princely Burgundy.(1)

In some of this king's lucid moments, the governess of his children, informed him how frequently she had not wherewith to feed or clothe them, "Alas!" said he, "I am myself no better treated," and to supply their immediate wants, gave her the gold cup he had been using.

Charles had a numerous family, of whom only three survived him; and one illegitimate daughter by Odette de Champdivers, whom her royal brother afterwards portioned, and married to a Poitevin nobleman, John de Harpedene, lord of Belleville.

CHARLES VII.

1422, to 1428. } Was at the castle of Espally, near Puy, when he heard the news of his

(1) Isabella lived to experience the scorn she merited: despised by those whom she had served, and detested by those she had betrayed, her decease in the year 1435, occasioned no symptoms of regret. Her corpse was carried in a little boat to St. Denis, and buried with no more ceremony than that of a private gentlewoman.

father's death; on the first day he wore mourning, but the next morning dressed himself in coloured robes, and after hearing mass, ordered the banner of France to be elevated in the chapel; his little band of adherents then with loud acclamations hailed him sovereign, and shortly after had him crowned at Poictiers, in the twentieth year of his age.

The character, of this new monarch, so materially connected with the events of his reign, is variously delineated; but its predominant features, are indolence and luxury; with the good disposition of his father, he seems to have inherited his mother's voluptuousness, which as it threw a transient veil over his cares deadened or relaxed the best qualities of his heart, it rendered his generosity pernicious, his love licentious, his favour partial, and his bravery of none effect; for we cannot with justice say, that had all his servants resembled their master, he of himself would ever have retrieved a kingdom; it will be seen too, by his supineness during Joan's captivity, that he

could be capable of ingratitude:[1] viewed in the most favourable light, he appears more amiable than good, more fortunate than great, if we may term that prince fortunate, whose political prosperity brought with it, cares unknown in all his adverse state.[2] Nor is it the least peculiarity attending this monarch's eventful life, that if his passion for women and festivity, retarded the restoration of France, to women he stood

(1) The celebrated merchant James Cœur, affords another instance of criminal weakness in Charles VII. that opulent and loyal subject had served him faithfully, not only as master of the mint, and superintendant of finances, but also with aid from his own private purse; insomuch, that the conquest of Normandy was chiefly attributable to him; yet these services could not shield him from the malice of his enemies, nor the avarice of court-favourites. On ill founded accusations, he was fined four hundred thousand crowns, and sentenced to perpetual banishment.

The will of Agnes Sorel, appointed James Cœur one of her executors.

(2) The latter years of his life; were marked with greater energy; but deeply embittered by a most undutiful son. Charles became anxious, gloomy, and suspicious. In the year 1461, having received intelligence of a conspiracy among his servants, and doubtful in whom to confide, he abstained from food, to avoid poison, till nature wasted with inanity, refused its wonted functions.

largely indebted for its being restored at all. At his court were three, who spared no exertions to inspire him with an activity adequate to his desperate affairs. These were Mary of Anjou his queen,[1] and Violante of Arragon, her mother,[2] aided by a mistress,[3] who contrary to general

(1) Daughter of Louis II. king of Naples, Sicily, &c. Herself irreproachable, and of no mean capacity, the licentiousness of others, fully exercised her patience as an individual, and her dignity as a queen. At one time, she supported her husband's household, by the sale of her plate and jewels; yet Charles was not at all the more provident. Being occupied one day, in planning an entertainment, he asked La Hyre, who had just come to him upon business, what he thought of the preparations; "I think," answered the blunt soldier, "that it is impossible to lose a kingdom more gaily."

(2) A princess of great merit, and occasionally of political service to her son-in-law. It was this dowager queen, who attended by Tannegui du Chastel, repaired to Arthur, count de Richemont, with conciliatory terms from Charles, and an offer of the constable's sword.

(3) Agnes Sorel, Countess of Penthievre, and lady of Beauté-sur-Marne; styled in her day, 'the lady of Beauty—the fairest of the fair,' in double allusion to her person, and to the name of a demesne presented her by Charles.

Monstrelet pretends to say, that their attachment never exceeded the bounds of discretion; he was however misinformed, the king had by her three daughters, acknowledged and portioned as such, by himself and his son.

The eldest, Charlotte, countess de Maulevrier, inheritrix of

practice, used her interest only to promote his; so that cordially co-operating in the honourable but ungracious task, virtue untarnished, in the former and beauty's power in the latter, attained a more than ordinary influence.

It is not to be supposed, that he, who under such circumstances, required prayers and exhortations to rouze him, would of

her mother's personal charms, and her mother's frailty, fell a victim with her paramour, to the vengeance of an injured husband.

Agnes died of a diarrhea, A. D. 1449, in the fortieth year of her age, and was buried in the collegiate church at Loches; leaving a character adorned with many virtues, though deadened in lustre by the absence of one, for which, in her last moments, she appears to have substituted a lively repentance. Her royal lover did not long mourn, but consoled himself with the favours of the lady de Villequier, her neice. The earnest and animating remonstrances of Agnes Sorel, are thus magnified by the gallantry of a succeeding monarch, into the actual salvation of France. Francis I. wrote the following lines under her portrait.

'Plus de louanges and d'honneur tu merites,
La cause etant de France recouvrer,
Que ce que peut dedans un cloitre ouvrer
Close nonnain, en bien devot hermite.'

Worthy more honour and more praise
In having rescued France,
Than all a cloistered zeal can raise,
Through nun's or hermit's trance.

himself, persevere in that systematic exertion, which not only demands, but deserves success. At court, the cabals of a few sordid parasites,[1] were sufficient to counterpoise the influence of friendly counsels; while in the field, his bravest chieftains, could effect little, with disheartened followers, and coffers ill supplied. Nor sense, nor virtue, were to make efficient impression, till combined with novelty, amazement, and superstitious awe.

The first check upon his enemies, originated with themselves; Jacqueline, in her own right, countess of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, a princess of high spirit, and of superior personal and mental endowments, had espoused John duke of Brabant, a youth of fourteen, for whom she soon entertained such sovereign contempt, as to apply for a papal dissolution of the marriage; but not choosing to await its decision, fled into England, and placed

(1) The president Louvet, the Camus de Beaulieu, de Giac, and la Trimouille, were for the most part ambitious, avaricious and sycophantic; and though historians make more honourable mention of du Chastel, it is impossible to seperate from his name, the murderous transaction at Montereau-bridge.

herself under the protection of Humphrey, duke of Glocester, with whom she entered into a fresh nuptial contract: in consequence of which, Humphrey proceeding to claim her dominions, Philip of Burgundy though allied to the English, not only resented, but resisted it with force of arms, on account of relationship to the injured husband, as well as having a jealous eye on territories afterwards appropriated to himself; and thus English troops, intended for the service of government, were embarked in the quarrels of an individual, besides occupying the troops of an ally.

Jacqueline, aided by Glocester, with forces and money, long carried on war in the low countries, where once some of her subjects delivered her up to Philip, from whom she had the address to escape.[1]

(1) The end of Jacqueline, was comparatively obscure. The duke of Burgundy obliged her to appoint him her heir, in case she should die without issue, and made her promise never to marry without his consent.

After his departure, she espoused Francis de Borselle, a gentleman whom the duke had left as lieutenant of the provinces; which breach of trust so incensed his master, that he caused him to be apprehended, and confined in the tower of Rupelmonde.

In vain, John, duke of Bedford, the regent of France, endeavoured to heal this breach, his brother Humphrey's pertinacity defeated his efforts, nor was it till a thundering bull from pope Martin V. not only annulled the present, but any future union between the parties, that the English prince desisted from his claims; he then married another, every way beneath his dignity,[1] and no longer interfered with the concerns of the heiress; a poor satisfaction, for conduct which had been injurious to the English arms, since it weakened their force, though it did not damp their ardour.

The battles of Crevant and Verneuil immediately preceding this dissension, had inspired them with additional confidence,

To liberate him, Jacqueline resigned all her territories to the duke, who allowed her to retain some part of them for a maintenance, with the collection of certain imposts, which she did not long enjoy, her death taking place in the year 1436.

(1) He married Eleanor, the daughter of Reginald, lord Cobham; she had lived with him as a mistress, but her pride and ambition as a wife, soon added to the duke's enemies. They accused her of witchcraft, condemned, and sentenced her to do public penance; then imprisoned the unhappy woman for life.

they remembered that in those conflicts, numbers, the flower of France and Scotland had met captivity or death; and though afterwards forced to raise the siege of Montargis, they continued to subdue towns; castles, and fortresses, till in the month of October, lord Salisbury, with ten thousand men sat down before Orleans, a city from its importance, considered as bearing in its fate the crown of Charles.

Having been some time expecting, the inhabitants were well prepared to receive them, Charles had sent to their assistance his bravest and most experienced leaders, they razed the suburbs of their city, to impede any fortifications of the English, whose force being inadequate to surround so large a place, could not wholly exclude the besieged from succours and re-inforcements; a protracted siege was therefore naturally to be expected, where equal bravery existed on either side; however, the besiegers made themselves masters of a tower on a bridge over the Loire, and effected a lodgement in some of the ruins,

when on the third day of their arrival, they sustained a grievous loss by the death of lord Salisbury, who was standing in the second story of the captured tower, at a window that overlooked the city, and scheming its speediest reduction, when a cannon shot entered, and though on hearing the report he had instantly drawn back, it took away part of his face, and killed on the spot sir Thomas Gargrave, who stood near him. The gallant earl lingered eight days, in that time exhorting his principal officers to prosecute the siege with vigour, and reduce the city; he then resigned his command to lord Suffolk, and his soul to God.

The death of a commander whom they loved and feared, it is probable rather animated, than depressed the besiegers courage; they crossed the river to make attack on the other side, erected well fortified redoubts, and meditated a line of circumvallation completely to intercept those succours, which as yet only partially preventing, they rendered insufficient for the city's consumption.

Trusting to famine, more than the sword,

lord Suffolk deemed his conquest as sure as it was slow, when to the astonishment of Europe, of the World, Heaven interposed a mortal arm, and a great empire, chiefly lost by the most profligate of women, by a virtuous woman was regained!

MEMOIRS

OF

JOAN D'ARC, OR, DU LYS,

COMMONLY CALLED,

THE MAID OF ORLEANS.

A.D. 1412. JOAN was born at Domremy, a hamlet from that circumstance, afterwards called Domremy-la-Pucelle, in the parish of Greux, and diocese of Toul, near and above the town of Vaucouleurs, both skirting the river Meuse; though Barrese, on the frontiers of Lorrain, it belonged to France, and the inhabitants were loyal, notwithstanding many neighbouring hamlets favoured the English and Burgundian cause.

It appears from the strict inquiries made in 1429, by order of Charles VII. that she was the daughter of James and Isabel d'Arc, an honest industrious pair, who worked sufficient land and cattle to employ and subsist a family of three sons and two

daughters. All Joan's learning consisted in the pater-noster, the angelic salutation, the symbol of the apostles, and to handle the distaff; however to these very limited attainments, she of herself superadded some of a different kind, which proved eminently useful in the subsequent climax of her life; passing the first years of that life, in tending cattle and other rustic avocations, (1) there was at intervals ample leisure not only for solitary thought, but also for rustic amusements; in these last, the natural bias of inclination displays itself earlier, and more decidedly, than in any other pursuits, because they are the first employments of free will, the first enjoyment of liberty. Joan either exercised herself in running races with her companions, or in skirmishing with imitative lances, after the manner of skilful knights; armed with long poles or sticks, she maintained lance-shocks so rough, that bye-standers were both astonished and pleased to see her at the exercise; at times she tilted against trees, at

(1) Philip: Bergom: de Claris Mulierib: Bonfinius Historiæ Pannonicæ, &c.

times mounting the horses she took to graze, sat them as well as the best cavalier.(1)

A. D. 1422. She was not yet thirteen, when Charles VI. died; the troubles that agitated all France, becoming a common topic of discourse from the castle to the cot, reached her native village, where we may suppose, from its remote situation, simplicity of manners fostered that romantic ardour, which growing with her growth, and strengthening with her strength, afterwards by divine grace surmounted all impediments.

How deep in the bosom of pity sink calamitous details, when fancy ever glowing, embodies every scene, and brings it home in tincture dark as the reality!

A country's multiplied wrongs, together with a king's degraded state, took entire possession of the feeling and noble soul of Joan, accompanied her in solitude, mingled in social discourse was the dream of the day, and the vision of the night. It is only for kindred minds to imagine the various sensations of her's, during a period of five or six years contemplation on this mo-

(1) Philip: Bergom:

mentous subject; how often might her busy fancy have revolved the monkish or the holier legends of Deborah, of David, and Goliath, Judith, and Holofernes, till she already imagined herself the champion of her country; it is true, the sacred volume was then closed to the poor, almost to the rich, yet such portions were the most likely to be narrated, while sublimer precepts of the gospel slumbered in monastic oblivion. Embracing literally, though unconsciously, the solemn assurance of our Saviour, what she fervently wished and prayed for, she expected would come to pass;[1] a belief which doubtless turned every after occurrence into food for its own subsistence.

We are told, that while her flocks were grazing, she happened to retire from a shower of rain into a little ruined chapel, and to fall asleep in it, she thought herself favoured there by a dream from God, and persuaded herself that it was a warning from Heaven, to quit the care of sheep, to go and seek her king.[2]

(1) Matthew, c. 21, v. 22.
(2) Philip: Bergom: Anton: Bonfinius.

A mind thus prepared, soon felt internal conviction, powerful as the oracles of inspiration: she began to think of making application to the governor of Vaucouleurs, who held that place for Charles; this intention alarmed her parents, least she should depart with any troops that passed, so that they once took her for a fortnight to Neufchatel, in Lorrain, where prompted by inclination or revenge, a young man had the audacity to summons her before the official of Toul,[1] pretending to have received a verbal promise of marriage; upon which, being put to her oath, she protested never to have thought of such a thing, and was accordingly dismissed.

In various conversations with her companions, she ambiguously informed them, that shortly, a young country girl would go to the assistance of France, of oppressed royalty, and procure the dauphin's coronation at Rheims. At other times she assured them that the French, by God's assistance, would do great things, and the dauphin

(1) Posthumous Trial, Session of 12th March, 1439. F.

remain peaceable possessor of his just inheritance.

A. D. 1428. About the middle of May, she implored an uncle, named Durant Lappart, to accompany her to Vaucouleurs, and present her to its governor; impatient and fruitless murmurs, just then ran high concerning the threatened siege of Orleans, and the capture of those towns above and below it on the Loire, by which the English sought to prevent its supplies. Being at length prevailed upon, this uncle complied with her request, and presented her to Baudricourt, to whom she declared the principal points of her mission, adding that he should forewarn the dauphin not to attack his enemies, because towards mid-lent God would send him succour. Baudricourt comparing the instrument with the magnitude of the work, not only gave her a very chill reception, but scolded her uncle for bringing to him a maniac, or at best a visionary, whom he commanded to be restored to her parents. During her stay at Vaucouleurs, she lodged at the house of one Henri, a wheelwright,

to whose wife she said after this unsuccessful application, "Alas! must we be all English? no" was the reply of her faith, "no the dauphin will conquer his enemies; I am come to Baudricourt, and he pays no attention to what I tell him, but it is necessary" continued she, "that I should be conducted to the dauphin about mid-lent, even were I to go on foot," adding nevertheless, that she had much rather have remained in her rustic capacity, than to undertake any such journey, but that it was the will of God, and she must obey it. (1)

Report soon spread news of the maid and her project throughout France, the inhabitants of Orleans anticipated her aid with hope and impatience, long before the deliberations of state had sanctioned it. Among the vulgar, her want of education so far from being any impeachment to her credit, only rendered her piety and resolution more conspicuous, while she herself felt no way discouraged with the first repulse she encountered.

(1) Deposition of John de Novelempont, a gentleman residing at Vaucouleurs, given on Saturday, the 31st of January, 1456. F.

Towards Whitsuntide, she went in pilgrimage with her uncle, to St. Nicholas, near Nancy, when Charles, duke of Lorrain, having heard mention of her, particularly desired an interview, for which purpose he sent her a passport to his court at Nancy,[1] and though his own ill health occupied his thoughts more than any thing else, he yet put to her many questions in consequence of the reports concerning her. She openly avowed herself desirous of going to assist the dauphin, as she styled Charles VII. before he was crowned at Rheims, [2] earnestly intreated the duke's commands on his son-in-law, to conduct her to the French court, and promised him her prayers for his health; the duke asked her what she thought of his health, she told him without hesitation, that as he lived on such ill terms with his dutchess, [3] a woman of very virtuous character, he would not be cured till a reformation took place in his conduct to that

(1) Deposition of the Lady de Touroulde. F.

(2) She does not seem invariably to have styled him dauphin, as may be seen by her summons to the English before Orleans.

(3) Deposition of the Lady de Touroulde. F.

princess, [1] which answer was afterwards deposed on her revisional trial. In such a prediction now, we should see very little of the marvellous, since it were a rational supposition, that as the cause ceased, so might the effect, and that the consequences of an irregular life would be obviated, or at least mitigated, by a moral change; Joan therefore gave the duke an excellent piece of advice, in the shape of a prophecy, nor was it an unfavourable trait in the prince, that far from resenting this ingenuous freedom of speech, he gave her at parting, 4 franks, which by her uncle, she remitted to her parents.

Animated by the same continued ideas, and determined spirit, she resolved at last to assume male attire, the better to journey towards her sovereign, and having importuned afresh her uncle Lappart, he took her once more to the governor of Vaucouleurs, with whom they had no better success than

(1) This usage of a dutchess is not surprising, when we find the French government complaining of the duke of Brittany, for having ill-treated and beaten his spouse! a daughter of Charles VI. Monstrellet, A. D. 1409.

at first; but some time after, a third effort repaid her perseverance; Baudri-court whether from conviction, or weariness, began to hearken, and she then remained three weeks at Vaucouleurs, where the rector of the place received her confessions; this reverend, duly equipped in his stole, one day entered her abode with captain Baudricourt, and making preparations as though to exorcise some evil spirit, said 'That if she had any concern with the enemy of mankind, she should depart from them, but if she came on the part of God, she might remain.' This absurdity which could only proceed from some mistaken notions of the confidence reposed in him at confession, (1) not a little surprised the maid, but Baudricourt was equally so, when she informed him that on Saturday, the 12th of February, the eve of bonfires, (2) Charles had sustained a great loss before Orleans, which was actually the case. A supply of provisions on its way to to the besiegers,

A. D. 1429.

(1) Deposition of Catherine, the wife of Henri, given Saturday, January 31, 1456. F.

(2) Fires of rejoicing in Lent, anciently called brandons.

convoyed by Sir John Fastolfe, with 2500 men, had been attacked by a body of 4000, under Counts Clermont and Dunois, who maintained a superiority, till the impetuosity of some Scotch troops, their allies, routed them with a loss of 500 men; this engagement was called the battle of herrings, from the stores consisting chiefly of that article for lent consumption. The victors officiously circulated their success throughout the kingdom, so that Joan might as easily hear the intelligence as any other person, before it reached the ears of Baudricourt; it however determined him upon sending her to the king.

The governor's conduct throughout, marks him to have been a man of little or no penetration, his indecision has more the air of timid, than prudential caution, and so far from intuitively perceiving the uses to be made of such golden opportunity, yields at last to superstition, rather than sagacity: I the more incline to this opinion, because there does not appear to have accrued to him, from the part he acted, any accession of the honours, credit, praises, or reward,

which certainly would, had he been the primum mobile of this enterprise, the prompter instead of the entreated; whereas little else but his name is recorded, (1) and though giving his sanction to her journey, neither in a public or private capacity did he afford it pecuniary assistance.

The inhabitants of Vaucouleurs, with zeal volunteered the expense of her equipment, provided her with a complete suit of male attire, and a horse that cost 16 franks, from whence we may infer, that in 3 weeks she had considerably gained ground in the credence and good opinions of her countrymen. The governor only gave her a sword, but appointed two honourable guides sworn safely to conduct her, these were Bertrand de Polengi, and John de Novelempont, both gentlemen of Champagne, the former of whom did what Captain Baudricourt should have done; he generously defrayed all travelling expenses of the little band, which consisted of the two gentlemen, with two servants each, and Joan.

(1) He was lord of Baudricourt and Blaise, bailiff of Chaumont, and captain of Vaucouleurs, and his son John was marshall of France, in the reign of Charles VIII.

She took no leave of her parents, fearful they might detain her entirely, or perhaps weaken her resolution, but afterwards in the letters she caused to be written, implored and obtained their pardon.

Every thing being arranged, Baudricourt saw her mounted, giving no other farewell than "Go, and happen as it may!" (1) they departed in the month of February, traversed Champagne, Burgundy, Nivernois, Berri, and Touraine, and in 11 days accomplished more than 150 leagues, without the least misadventure, though of necessity, they took considerable circuits to shun all stations of the enemy. To essay her courage, they sometimes sought to alarm her on the road, but her constant reply was, "Fear nothing, we shall arrive safely at Chinon, and the Dauphin will receive us well." (2)

Not a moment was lost by the way, yet news of her approach outstripped them. The Sieur de Novelempont represents himself to have been much edified by her piety

(1) Interrogation on the Trial, February 22, 1431.

(2) Deposition of Bertrand de Polengi, given Saturday, February 6, 1456. F.

and charity, especially it seems at St. Catherine de Fierbois, in Touraine, for notwithstanding the hurry, dangers, and difficulties of the journey, she neglected no opportunity of hearing mass, or doing good. Of charity in its most genuine enlarged sense, we all know money forms but a component part, and therefore in those days, to render any personal aid, or to share a meal, not ill supplied the place of so scarce an article.

Charles was at Chinon, 6 or 7 leagues to the south-west of Tours, when Joan sent him the letters of Baudricourt, and signified, that to enter the presence she awaited his gracious pleasure, but the king's council were against his rashly giving countenance to such an adventure, and two days were passed in deliberation before she received any answer; at length orders came to repair to court, where she was introduced to her Sovereign by the Count de Vendome. It was evening, the hall was brilliantly illuminated, and Charles surrounded by his courtiers, purposely disguised and intermingled with them, yet Joan who is said to have never before seen him, (1) singled him out,

(1) Deposition of M. Simon Charles. F.

cast herself at his feet, embracing them, though to mislead, some present told her she mistook. To account most naturally for this perception, we have only to consider, that though she herself might never before have seen her king, she most likely knew those who had, and on an imagination so powerful, a loyalty so ardent, I need not suggest what deep, what lasting impressions, a minute description of his person would leave, some circumstance of the moment, however trivial or unnoticed by others, might have aided her discernment; be that as it may, she had no doubts as to whom she thus addressed, "Gentle Dauphin! I am called Joan the maid, and the King of Heaven hath sent me to your help, if it please you to give me soldiers, by divine permission and force of arms, I will make them raise the siege of Orleans, and will lead you to be crowned at Rheims, in spite of all your enemies; this is what the King of Heaven hath commanded me to tell you, and that his will is, the English shall return to their own country, and leave you peaceable in your kingdom, as being its only

true and lawful heir; that if you make an offering of it to God, he will restore it to you much greater and more flourishing than your predecessors have enjoyed it, and will take vengeance upon the English, if they do not retreat."[1]

The whole court beheld her with astonishment, not only at her cognizance of the king, but at the substance of her speech to him; his first step was consigning her to the care of his steward, the sieur William Bellier, bailiff of Troyes, at whose house she was taken especial care of by his lady, a woman of highest respectability; while the next measure adopted, was to dispatch a confidential messenger with all speed to Baudricourt, to her native village, and its neighbourhood [2] with orders to make rigid inquiries into her life and conduct as well as into those of her parents, which not merely stood the test of inquisition, but excited praise and admiration: still were there many obstacles to encounter, chiefly

(1) Deposition of John de Gaucourt, grand master of the king's household. F.

(2) Deposition of John Barbin, king's advocate. F.

in the opposition of princes, nobles, and warriors, with whom the idea of imparting any portion of military authority to a woman, and one of low birth, seemed as preposterous as it was novel; their pride taking alarm, furnished them with plausible arguments against it; they represented to their sovereign not only the danger, but the derision that must attend such an experiment; the inconsistency of bestowing upon this girl, even in appearance, the truncheon of command, when their laws excluded females of royal blood from inheriting their sceptre; and finally they observed, though with what cogency or connection hardly appears, that placing a girl at the head of armies, would be strengthening the queen of England's pretensions to the throne of France; such were the conclusions of a council, comprising the most illustrious in the train of Charles. That indecision which in Baudricourt was weakness, in these nobles of the land shewed commendable care, the sanction of the one being only preparatory of the others, final and conclusive; yet, to judge from some part of their objections,

they seem to have forgotten that the annals of their country could already boast a Blanche of Castile, [1] a Jane of Navarre, [2] indeed France, spite of her vaunted salique law, has never been better governed than by her regent queens, if we except Isabella of Bavaria, and the two Medici. [3]

(1) Daughter of Alphonso IX. king of Castile, surnamed the magnificent, wife of Louis VIII. mother of Louis IX. or St. Louis, and the first female regent of France, who found her a wise and valiant ruler; that she was something more, may be gathered from her own words to her son, "I would rather a thousand times consent to lose you, all royal as you are, and more dear to me than all the world contains, than know you to commit a fault, which may deprive you of the protection of Heaven." Blanche ended a life of sterling dignity, in 1253, aged 68.

(2) Born heiress of Champagne, and the kingdom of Navarre, she espoused Philip the fair, king of France, who left her the administration of those dominions she had annexed to his crown, her judgement and valour justified his confidence. When the count de Bar invaded her territory of Champagne, she marched in person to give them battle, defeated and took him prisoner; yet this female conqueror was one, who according to Mezeray, 'held every one chained by the eye, ear, and heart, being equally beautiful, eloquent, and generous.' Jane the munificent patroness of learning, and prudent mother of her people, died in 1304, aged only 33.

(3) Catherine widow of Henry II. and Mary of Henry IV. In a letter to queen Elizabeth, dissuading her from marrying Catherine's son, the duke of Anjou, sir Philip Sydney, that

It was resolved that Joan should undergo the examination of a commission, consisting of Regnaut deChartres archbishop of Rheims and recently appointed chancellor of France, Christopher de Harcourt, bishop of Castre and confessor to the king, William Charpentier, bishop of Poictiers, Nicholas le Grand, bishop of Senlis, the bishop of Montpellier, John Jourdain, D. D. at Paris, with several other doctors, before a prince of the blood; they questioned her as to her religious faith,—how long she had entertained such ideas?—why she had changed the sexual garb?—and lastly, how she purposed to attain her ends? She answered all with circumspection, nearly to the same effect as on her trial; they however thought proper to consult others, particularly pre-

pattern for English gentry, makes use of this strong expression, "The very common people, well know this, that he is the son of a jezebel of our age." Vide, Sydney's state letters, vol. 1. p. 288. A compendious, but comprehensive character of her who instigated the massacre of St. Bartholomew's.

Mary de Medici was more weak than cruel; of whom it is scarcely necessary to say more, than that under her administration, the wise and faithful Sully retired in disgust, from the court of his beloved master's son.

lates noted for their proficiency in the art of policy and good government.

In a treatise now extant, by James Gelu, archbishop of Embrun,[1] they have asked him five questions;—first, whether it accord with divine majesty, to interfere with the actions of individuals, or even with the conduct of a nation? he answered that God being the creator and preserver of every being, he loves and guides them all with the same affection. Secondly, if it be not more agreeable to God, to make use of angels, rather than of men to do his miracles? his answer is, that it often was more agreeable to the divinity to make use of his angels, true ministers of his will, than of men; that however he had almost always employed men to work the greatest miracles; it is with what Moses, Samuel, Elijah, and his successor Elishah, were charged on his behalf: God even employs beings less noble than men, as he did the raven that fed Elijah, and

(1) He was first archbishop of Tours, then in 1427, of Embrun, wrote his treatise on the Maid of Orleans, in 1429, and died in 1432. Manuscript in the library of the late king of France.

another that took care of the hermits St. Anthony, and St. Paul, in the desert. A third question was, whether it pleased providence to confide to girls, what in the order of things ought to be executed by men? he answers that in truth not to confound the dignity and difference of sexes, it was prohibited in Deuteronomy to change the sexual garb, that God however had revealed to virgins, secrets which he had witheld from men; upon which he brings the example of the holy virgin, who alone at first had the knowledge of the mystery of the incarnation, and according to the belief of his time, he employs the example of the sibyls [1] who taught men many

(1) According to the most received opinions, there were ten of those sibyls who prophesied at different periods of the heathen world.

Sibylla Cumana, or the Cumean sibyl, who offered her books to Tarquinius Superbus, is represented as thus prophesying of Christ; "After three days, he shall triumph over death, return to the light, and be the first who shall give evidence to the resurrection, thereby to strengthen the faithful in the hope of eternal life."

M. Rollin mentions her as the same sibyl of Delphos, Erythræ, Babylon, Cuma, and many other places, from her having resided in them all; in which case, the variation as to number of these inspired women, is well accounted for.

mysterious things which the divinity had confided to them; in consequence he believes that a girl may conduct troops; and many at the time apprehending some illusion on the part of Satan, it served to form a fourth question, to know whether it might not be some artifice of that evil spirit? he maintains that there are methods of ascertaining it, not indeed by external senses, but by the conduct of the person, by the effects and the good which shall result from it; at last they proposed to him a fifth question, if it were not expedient to employ in this respect the rules of human prudence? he agrees with the wisdom of this measure, and assures them the spirit is to be proved, that prudence being a gift of God, it can and ought to be employed in things which are done by the order and disposal of providence.

The result of these examinations and inquiries, not being unfavourable to the

If the archbishop gave Joan credit for similar inspiration, he was not without his followers in credulity; one or two manuscripts of those times, celebrate her under the title of sibylle Francica.

maid, they began to put more faith in her mission: [1] an advantageous report was made to the king, who still irresolute, dreaded taking a single step forward, least he should commit himself and kingdom past recal; in this state, Joan having entered the presence, drew him apart before the courtiers, and in a short conference made so good use of her speech, that all at once he took his resolution; declaring to his confessor, and the whole court, that she had mentioned to him secrets which he himself had never divulged; it is pretended, that this secret was reminding the king of a mental prayer made by him to the holy virgin, but since neither menaces nor exhortations could afterwards induce her to give the least explanation, and since Charles himself seems not to have explained it, I do not see how the subject could ever be carried beyond conjecture.

The mind of Charles seems precisely that on which extraordinary genius could most effectually work, especially in a period of perplexity, too gracious and anxious for

(1) Deposition of John Barbin. F.

ease not to listen with benignity, too susceptible not to catch a portion of ardour and too indolent not to resign exertion to others, even at the expense of glory, ductile as wax, it soon received, soon lost the impression, and Joan if charged with using magic arts of persuasion, might have answered like the wily Italian, (1) "That she had used that power only, which great minds always have over weak ones."

Her youth, her humble origin, and her very want of education, prevented all suspicion of this superiority, which displays itself throughout her career in the peculiar property of imparting to others, a due proportion of its own energy.

At this time she informed the sovereign, that her mission being only for about a year, his coronation must be hastened; being asked why she styled him only dauphin, she replied that he would not be really king and possessor of the kingdom, before he was crowned at Rheims; but

(1) Leonora Galligai, or Concini, who in 1617, was tried, condemned, and burnt to death, on a charge of having attained her influence over Mary de Medici, by magic arts.

that afterwads his affairs would prosper, while those of the English would fall to decay; and here, though we discern the finger of God, it is still through the medium of human possibilities, as she doubtless well knew, that in the actual exhausted state of her country, the remedy must be speedy, to be effectual.

After these several examinations, and having undergone a more rigid scrutiny as to the purity of her morals, by the king's mother-in-law, queen of Sicily, the ladies de Gaucour de Treves, and others whose reports were as favourable as any preceding, Charles more for form's sake than from any scruples of his own, resolved to have her interrogated before the parliament then assembled at Poictiers; (1) while there, she lodged with the attorney general and his wife, who by themselves, as well as by company invited for that purpose, watched her conduct, to see if it did not at any time falsify its high reputation, nor did they once find it defective, though inva-

(1) Depositions of Francis Garmet, Financier General, of Gobert Thibant, and of Margaret Tourolde. F.

riably left a free agent; the parliament however, either had, or pretended to have doubts remaining, and concluded with requiring her to accredit her words by some miraculous sign; they received the dignified answer that "She was not sent to give signs at Poictiers, but at the siege of Orleans, and at Rheims, where she would shew to all the world sure signs of her mission;" (1) she then repeated the four promises already made, viz. 1, toward ascension, to raise the siege of Orleans; 2, to have her sovereign anointed at Rheims; 3, that Paris would acknowledge his authority in the course of seven years; (2) 4, and lastly, that the English would be driven from the kingdom. In these she never varied, and these were finally fulfilled.

At length all these doubts and difficulties which had lasted for about a month after her arrival were overcome, the last council having been decidedly in her favour, Charles began to think of assigning her a regular

(1) Deposition of the sieur Gaucour, and of Francis Garmet. F.

(2) Fifth session on the trial, 1st of March, 1431. F.

establishment; he appointed as steward and comptroller of her household, (1) a most respectable gentleman, the sieur Daulon, a material evidence on her posthumous justification; under him were placed a chaplain, officers, pages, in fact all that could evince a very high consideration, and her brothers were allowed at any time to attend her; the king presented her with one of the best horses, and best equipped in his stables, (2) wishing to present her also with a very handsome sword, which she declined, but requested him to send for one concealed behind the great altar of St. Catherine de Fierbois; this mysterious weapon was, on account of the crosses engraven on it, a source of many queries on her trial. To heighten the marvellous, it is pretended, that she had never before seen or heard of such a sword, but it is far more probable, that in her devotions at St Catherine on the journey to Chinon, she had received a hint or intimation from some clerical convert to her enthusiasm.

(1) Deposition of Daulon himself. F.

(2) Philip: Bergom:

Her steward received the royal command to have her fitted with proper armour, and she herself ordered a standard, which she had always borne before her.

After all this preparation, in which Charles once resolved, appears to have patronised her more than did his servants, he placed her at the head of 6000 men, with which force she was at Blois the 18 or 19th of March, 1429, accompanied by the chancellor, and the lord de Gaucour, grand master of the king's household; [1] at that place, they prepared a great convoy of provisions for Orleans, and before her departure, she dictated her first summons to the English; *(see appendix)*, it so enraged them, they could scarcely invent sufficient terms of abuse, and threatened her with that cruel death which they afterwards but too faithfully executed, even the having placed therein crosses before and after the words Jesus Maria, was eventually imputed to her, as an additional symptom of magic.

(1) Deposition of the count de Dunois, given 22d February, 1456. F.

Hitherto, all had been promissory; we are now about to behold her toiling in the battle's heat, not for spoil nor honours nor fame, but to turn the torrent of destruction from her native land; the tear of helpless pity, changed to tears of blood, offering in contented sacrifice, a private life, for public good; she now urged the principal officers to hasten the convoy, and to confess themselves, as well as take the sacrament [1] before their departure, in consequence of which, she prognosticated to them divine assistance; [2] among these officers were distinguished names, [3] the marshal de St. Severe, called de Boussac,[4] Giles de Laval, lord of Retz, that same year marshal of France, [5] the sieurs de Gau-

(1) Deposition of Simon de Beaucraix. F.

(2) Historians add, that she banished from camp, all women of ill fame.

(3) Deposition of the count de Dunois. F.

(4) John de la Brosse, lord of St. Severe and Boussac, marshal of France in 1424, distinguished himself in the service of his country, and died in 1433.

(5) Giles de Laval, marshal de Retz, was executed at Nantes, in the presence of the duke of Brittany, on December 23, 1440, for sorcery, aggravated by detestable crimes; but as a warrior, he was eminent, and some affirm, that political reasons accelerated his end.

cour,[1] la Hyre,[2] Pothon de Saintrailles,[3] Ambrose de Loré,[4] the admiral Culan, [5] and others; she engaged even the clergy of Blois,[6] to march at the head of the convoy, under her banner, which borne by her chaplain, represented the crucifix. That Joan had only a nominal command over these warriors of France, scarcely admits a doubt, but that she had a more than nominal influence, a sort of partial authority, beyond the patent of kingly favour, is evident. What most tended to give her consideration with any of them, in despite of envy, jea-

(1) Ralph, lord of Gaucourt, at different periods chamberlain, governor of Dauphiné, and grand master of the household, was conspicuous in the wars from 1427, to 1437.

(2) Stephen Vignole, called la Hire, a soldier of fortune, and faithful partisan of Charles, he died at an advanced age, in the castle of Montauban, 1422, regretted by the king, who continued to his widow, the lands he had given him for life.

(3) John Pothon, lord of Saintrailles, in 1454, marshal of France, a gascon, and an eminent adherent to Charles. In the 10th year of Henry, he was prisoner to lord Warwick, and died 1461.

(4) Ambrose de Loré, a soldier of fortune, in the 11th of Henry, he had the honour to be exchanged for the great lord Talbot.

(5) Louis de Culant, admiral of France.

(6) Deposition of father John Pasquerel. F.

lousy, or pride, was superstition. We can have no just reason to suppose, that the vulgar engrossed all blind credulity, while their leaders were enlightened an age beyond them in freedom from prejudice. Warriors of yore, seldom gave themslves to study, beyond the saintly legends, and when they did, it was only to bewilder themselves in the mystic mazes of astrology, demonology, and magic; while far greater part, never attained even the first necessary key to treasures so sublimes.

That some of Joan's cotemporary chieftains were of the stamp of Owen Glendourdhuy, we may gather from the fate of marshal de Retz, he too professed to 'call spirits from the vasty deep,' but it was by dispatching spirits from this earth, by tracing his dark volume, in characters of blood, and strong indeed must have been the brain's delusions, to cause such murders without provocation, or resentment; all dabblers in magic did not proceed to the marshal's infamous crimes, but his credulity was so general, that we need not be surprised if some saw only a sorceress, and

some a saint in the heroine, some few fluctuating between doubt and belief, inclining to either according to the course of events; the weak-minded, gave blind obedience to her dictates, the others, only when it suited, but it were absurd to deny her all share of personal command, when the soldiers of themselves, must see and know in the hour of battle, whether she gave, or received orders, whether she fought merely as a simple individual, or as commanding any corps.

In the course of this narrative, it will be seen, that she sometimes assisted in council, sometimes not, occasionally commanded, at intervals requested; circumstances more against the idea of a secret collusion, than if they had invariably made a shew of implicit obedience.

The inhabitants of Orleans were from the first, so anxious concerning their promised deliverer, that the count de Dunois had some time before dispatched to court, the lord de Villars; seneschal of Beaucaire, and Jamet de Tilley, afterwards Bailiff of Vermandois, who related to their employer

all they had learnt at Chinon; the count would have them repeat their information before the citizens of Orleans, [1] whose courage and expectations it so animated, that they now hailed her approach with every symptom of joy.

It was resolved to conduct the convoy from Blois, by Sologne on the south side of the Loire, though Joan wished it to have been by way of Beauce, being ardently desirous of attacking the enemy, the bulk of whose army lay in that direction.

About three quarters of a mile from Orleans, Dunois met them by water to receive the supplies; Joan accosted him saying, "You are the bastard of Orleans," [2] which he acknowledging, she

(1) Deposition of the count de Dunois, given 22d February, 1456. F.

(2) John count de Dunois and Longueville, was an illegitimate son of the murdered Louis, duke of Orleans, by Marietta d'Enguien wife of sir Aubert de Canny, a Picard knight. Dunois first signalized himself before Montargis, and became one of the most renowned in the wars of France.

Joan's style of addressing him so far from being at that time considered a term of reproach or insult, was the appellation by which he was most generally known, and was freely applied even to the most favourite spurious sons of princes, as the bastard of Burgundy, of Vendôme, of Armagnac, &c.

began directly to reproach him because the convoy was not brought by way of Beauce, he represented it as the determination of a council, "What!" said she, "is not the council of my God more assured than your's? you think to have deceived me and are yourself deceived, since through him I bring you help." He asked her to enter the city, where her presence was so much desired, at first unwilling to forsake her people she refused; (1) but this supply not being sufficient, they returned directly to Blois for another, the first having arrived securely on the 29th of April, without the English having dared to attack their inferior numbers; she therefore proceeded with the count in his boat up the river, and disembarking entered Orleans, where she alighted at the cathedral church to return thanks for the success of her first expedition. (2)

The garrison and townsmen delighted, gave great entertainments in honour of her arrival, (3) and she took up her quarters at a

(1) Deposition of the count de Dunois, 22d Feb: 1456. F.
(2) Deposition of James Lesbahy, March 16, 1456. F.
(3) Monstrelet.

lodging prepared for her in the house of an eminent citizen;[1] next day she sent to the English camp to reclaim her herald, who had been detained against martial law, and Dunois added, that if he were not safely delivered up, all the English officers who had been sent to treat for the ransom of prisoners should be killed; this threat had the desired effect, the besiegers quickly returned him, charged with no little scurrility for the maid.

On Sunday, the 1st of May, she summoned the commanding officer of the fort of Turrets to cease hostilities with France, and retire to England; his only answer was insult more outrageous than ever, but she had avoided all chance of subjecting a messenger to any further ill-treatment, by fastening the summons to an arrow,[2] signifying at the same time her motives, and caused these words to be cried aloud "Take and read, here is news."[3]

(1) Deposition of her intendant Daulon.

(2) Deposition of her chaplain father John Pasquerel. F.

(3) Though upon recollection of Aster's laconic epistle, "To Philip's right eye," we cannot call this a very novel expedient, the idea must certainly have been new to Joan.

On the 4th, Joan left the city with some general officers, to meet another convoy, which had not taken above 5 or 6 days to return to Orleans, while with complaisance unusual, the English offered them not the least molestation; after their return with these supplies, the generals that very day held a council unknown to the maid, in which they concluded to remain chiefly on the defensive till the arrival of an expected reinforcement from Charles, especially as the city was then pretty well stocked with provisions, when the council had thus determined, they made her acquainted with their determination, upon which she merely observed "You have held your councils, I have also held mine, which will be executed," and turning to her chaplain requested him to celebrate mass the next morning very early; (1)

A gentleman(2) who dined with her the same day, relates that after dinner the count de Dunois came to her lodgings, and told her he knew from good authority, that a captain

(1) Deposition of father John Pasquerel. F.
(2) Daulon.

of the enemy, named Fastolfe, would shortly join the besiegers, both to victual and reinforce them; at which intelligence she was highly delighted, and in a tone of raillery said to him, Bâtard, Bâtard, in the name of Heaven I command thee, so soon as thou shalt know the arrival of this Fastolfe, not to withhold it from me, for if he pass without my knowledge, I promise thee I'll have thy head off," to which he answered in the same style, that "She need not doubt it, for he would be sure to let her know."

Shortly after his departure, some of the troops unable to restrain their ardour, had rushed into no small danger; Joan who had that afternoon lain down on a couch to seek a repose, which though exercise rendered necessary anxiety denied, having risen and armed at hearing a great clamour among the citizens, that the enemy was overpowering the French; before the sieur Daulon (who had in like manner refreshed himself) could arm, she had gained the street, where seeing a page on horseback she made him alight, mounted in his stead, and full speed took the direct road to the

gate of Burgundy, in which direction seemed the greatest noise; Daulon overtook her, and at the gate they met some people bringing in a man sorely wounded, of his bearers she enquired who he was, and finding him to be her countryman, observed, that she "Never saw French blood but what her hair stood on end."

She hastened with 14 or 1,500 men, notwithstanding the lord de Gaucourt who guarded the gate of attack [1] and whom she sharply reproved; but the marshal de Boussac advanced with 600 cavalry to her support; they directed their course towards a very strong fort, called the fort of St. Lazarus, from whence the English had made their sudden sally, and driving them back with vigour, after an assault of more than 4 hours, carried and demolished their fort; 114 English perished there, 200 were taken prisoners. Joan's piety particularly favoured the clergy of the fort, who were only there for the spiritual aid of their countrymen, [2] she respected in them the

(1) Deposition of Simon Charles. F.

(2) Deposition of Louis des Comtes. F.

appropriated servants of the most High, and sent them safely back after having had them humanely treated at Orleans; in which conduct she persevered through every subsequent success.

After this achievement they re-entered the city, where their return was hailed with joyful triumph, and on the morrow, Ascension-day, another council was held, from which they did not think proper to exclude Joan: the subject of their deliberations, was the expediency of attempting the three forts south of Orleans, which being agreed upon, they ordered their operations to commence next morning; accordingly Joan being in readiness very early, marched forth at the head of a numerous corps, to begin with the tower of St. Jean-le-Blanc: the English having erected another very strong tower at the foot of the city bridge, the French made a bridge of boats across another arm of the Loire, from a little island in that river, and passed over only to find the tower dismantled and abandoned by their enemy, who immediately at their approach had retreated to a much larger

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and stronger tower, called 'des Augustin's,' which the French deeming too strong for present attempt, they resolved to retreat, and were retreating in good order, when the enemy sallied out on their rear; la Hyre and the maid, whose horses had been conveyed with them in boats, mounted, and couching their lances, turned upon the assailants with such furious onset, as to drive them back to their citadel, into which, two men, the one a Frenchman, the other a brave Spaniard, named Alphonso de Partada animated by recent dispute respecting their valour, gained a passage, wherein they were closely followed up by their comrades, and the garrison taken.(1)

Flushed with unexpected conquest they proceeded confidently to assault the remaining and most important fortress of all, well supplied with every requisite and defended by 600 chosen men; the approaches were made, but the lateness of the day obliged them to defer the regular assault till morning; however, their heroic inspirer unwilling to lose sight of the most material

(1) Deposition of the sieur Daulon.

object, stood at arms before it all night at the head of her troops, and by day-break had the scaling ladders placed ready to mount; the assault was given at all points, and maintained with equal obstinacy from the rising to the setting sun; Joan received a severe wound in the neck from an arrow, which penetrated more than half a foot into the flesh, she drew it out herself, and was the only one not alarmed at it; some of the soldiers wished to charm the wound, "God forbid!" said she, "I had rather die than do any thing I thought a sin and contrary to the will of God," it had therefore only a first dressing of olive oil and lard.

As night was fast approaching and so little advantage gained, Dunois began to think of sounding a retreat, Joan assured him they would soon be masters of the fort, and retiring alone to a vineyard just by, passed a few hasty moments in prayer, and on her return planted herself at the edge of the fossé; her standard waved in the air was a rallying point for all, the enemy beheld in it an electric conductor to the gathering storm of vengeance, and trembling with super-

stitious terrors, met defeat half way! that defeat was signal, [1] a few only remained captive, the major part having been slain or drowned, and the generous champion wept for their souls, for those who had the most grossly insulted her.

Dunois many years after observed, that this fort must have been carried by a kind of miracle; we must however allow for a little lurking vanity in a general, which in what his skill and valour could not of themselves accomplish, led him to perceive a *kind* of *miracle!*

On Sunday, the 8th, an English council of war taking into consideration their recent disasters, agreed to raise the siege, setting themselves accordingly in marching and battle array; but Joan would not have them molested, [2] though upon the first perception of their movements, she had left the city with a force prepared for battle; satisfied however with the departure of the English, and their booty of ordnance, baggage, and provision, the victors made good cheer in

(1) Deposition of the count de Dunois. F.

(2) Deposition of John Huillier of Orleans. F.

the delivered city, after returning thanks to God, who had so graciously accomplished the words of their champion to the burgesses, "My Lord hath sent me to succour the good city of Orleans."

Unwilling to lose a moment, she departed the next day, notwithstanding her wound, to render an account of affairs to the king; Dunois and other lords attended her. On entering the royal presence at Loches, she cast herself at her sovereign's feet, saying, "Gentle dauphin! here is the siege of Orleans raised, which is the first thing commanded by the king of Heaven for your service, it yet remains to conduct you to Rheims in safety, to be there anointed and crowned; doubt not but you will be well received there, and that afterwards your affairs will continue prosperous, and that what I have been ordered by the king of Heaven to tell and assure you, will happen in due time and place."

Charles, and of course his courtiers, very favourably received her, the contest was, who should pay most attention, but many difficulties arose concerning the journey to

Rheims, which certainly was no light undertaking, for they had to traverse more than 70 leagues, in a country chiefly garrisoned by English and Burgundians, not excepting Rheims, their principal object. Besides crossing three great rivers, theLoire, the Seine, and the Marne, there were almost as many sieges to make as towns between Loches and Rheims, add to which, they were deficient in heavy artillery, in money still more so, difficulties which if not quite so vast as those encountered in the renowned retreat of the 10,000 Greeks, were amply sufficient to create a pause. Charles, to overcome his indecision as usual, called a council, which as usual, only rendered him more indecisive; withdrawing to his closet he summoned his confessor, and an aged man, the sieur Treves, once chancellor of France, who were considering about making Joan a party in this conference, when she tapped at the door, saying as she entered, "Noble dauphin, hold no more such long councils, but prepare to march towards Rheims to receive a crown of honour, a sign of re-union to your state

and to your people;" the bishop of Castres asked her if she knew what they had deliberated upon, she answered him in the affirmative and told him with a blush, that seeing all delays, she had retired to prayer, and inwardly heard a voice repeat, "Daughter of Heaven! go, I will be thine aid, go," and that this internal voice consoled her. The king then sent word to his council, which was yet sitting, that the maid had convinced him, and they might prepare to march; at the same time it was settled to attack the towns on the Loire above and below Orleans. The duke d'Alençon was appointed general of the troops to be employed on this service, with orders to consult Joan in every thing, to whom the dutchess expressed her fears for his safety, he having not long been released from captivity in England, (1) but the heroine's persuasions and confidence re-assured her: this prince was not at court on the first presentation of Joan, but on his entering the apartment some days after, she asked

(1) He had been wounded and taken prisoner in the battle of Verneuil.

who he was, the king himself informed her, and addressing the duke, she said "Heartily welcome! the more princes of the blood there shall be, the more affairs will prosper." (1)

The troops now employed, comprised about 1,200 lances, 5,000 cavalry, and 6,000 infantry whose rendezvous was fixed for the 11th of June, in the neigbourhood of Orleans, from whence they immediately marched to Gergeau, a town garrisoned by 1,200 men, and in other respects well provided for obstinate resistance; but the next day a large breach being effected, the besieged demanded a parley, in which they had the conscience to require 15 days truce, thinking thereby to receive the succours ordered from Paris; however, the siege lasted not so long; towards the conclusion, Joan and the duke d'Alençon were in imminent danger, but she bade him be of good cheer, and herself urged on the assault, which was sustained more than 4 hours with great courage. The heroine who first mounted, continually setting example, narrowly escaped death from

(1) Deposition of the duke himself.

a large flint, which grazing her head, felled her to the ground, and broke in sundry pieces at her feet; notwithstanding which, quickly rising, she cried out—"Friends! friends! on! on them! our Lord hath condemned the English, they are our's!"—and re-mounting to her post of dangerous eminence; 1,100 of the enemy were killed, among whom was a brother of lord Suffolk; that nobleman himself was taken prisoner, with another brother, the commandant, and several knights.

The invaders of France, struck with such phænomena as the martial achievements of a peasant girl, sent some cordeliers to Domremy for the purpose of inquiry into her previous character; but received by them only such advantageous reports as were afterwards carefully suppressed.

No sooner was Gergeau taken, than the royal forces advanced to Meung, and Beaugency, where they received the aid of several lords, who having heard of their king's successes, after the fashion of the world fell in with fortune's cavalcade. On the 15th of June, the duke d'Alençon, prince

Louis de Bourbon-Vendôme, and Joan, seized the fortified bridge of Meung, on their way to Beaugency; there the English at the first approach of their enemy, quitted the town for its citadel, which they had well prepared for a siege; to this siege the constable de Richemont (1) repaired, accompanied by other chieftains, with 12 or 1,500 men, raised at the expense of him and his companions; notwithstanding which, he met with a very cool reception from Charles, and on that account from the duke d'Alen-

(1) Arthur count de Richemont taken prisoner at the battle of Azincour, was brother to John VI. duke of Brittany; Henry V. restored him to liberty, and so long as that monarch lived, he adhered to his interests, but taking pique at the English government, he turned all his own and his brother's influence in favour of Charles, who appointed him successor to lord Buchan, as constable of France. Arthur, boisterous and overbearing, disgusted Charles by continued enmity to the court favourites, some of whom he made him banish, and caused others to be decapitated, after very summary proceedings; Tannegui du Châtel, the president Louvet, the lord de Giac, and the Camus de Beaulieu, were his principal victims. Against the monarch's will he served him, but after an unwarrantable manner; it is not therefore to be wondered at, that the reigning favourite la Brimouille, viewed him with an evil eye.

Arthur succeded his brother in the dukedom of Brittany, and died in 1458.

çon, partly owing to the good offices of la Trimouille the then favourite, (1) who, according to historians, owed much, if not all of his advancement to the better offices of de Richemont. So unfriendly to memory is a courtly atmosphere! la Hyre, Santrailles, and others thought it would be best on this occasion, to employ Joan's mediation between the king and this principal officer of the crown; she who had never asked any favour for herself, readily consented, provided the constable would make oath at the hands of Alençon, well and truly to serve Charles, and that those nobles who desired the reconciliation, should subjoin their several signatures to the constable's, that she might transmit them to the king; all which on their part was approved; yet it seems she chose with admirable prudence to await such a seasonable opportunity as might preclude denial.

Meanwhile, no sooner did the English

(1) George, lord of la Trimouille who undeservedly basked in the beams of royalty, gratified his ambition, as well as avarice, by marriage with two noble heiresses, and by holding different posts of distinction: he died in 1446.

find themselves cooped up in the citadel on the side of Sologne, as well as Beauce, than they sought to capitulate even with her the most dreaded and detested of their foes; the honourable terms obtained, were, that they should retire with arms and horses, but no property beyond the value of a silver mark, nor should for 10 days bear arms against king Charles. The very night of this capitulation, Talbot with some other generals, brought 4,000 of their best troops from Paris to relieve Gergeau, which finding past relief, they directed their course towards Beaugency, where again they had the mortification of finding themselves too late, and entering the little town of Meung, abandoned it the same day for Janville, in Beauce.

The French army now daily receiving strength, pressed forward at Joan's instigation to give the enemy battle, she advised that 14 or 1500 men under Santrailles, la Hyre, &c. should be detached to cut off the enemy's retreat, while the main body of the French attacked them; d'Alençon and Dunois requesting to know if she had any

further advice or orders, received the laconic answer, "Good spurs! good spurs!" "What!" exclaimed both, "should we fly?" "No" she replied, "the English will fly, and to overtake them we shall need good spurs, but whatever they do, we must fight them, were they hanging in the clouds, and the gentle dauphin will now have the greatest victory [1] he has gained this long while.—My council tells me they are all ours," nor did she give them only to expect success, but also that it would not be very dearly purchased. [2]

It is said, that a party sent forward to reconnoitre, on their way started a stag, and the animal bounding direct for the English lines, occasioned such a loud shout as it dashed through, that the scouts soon found the enemy's position; upon which some of the party were dispatched with all necessary intelligence, and the French immediately advanced in order of battle; the

(1) Deposition of the duke d'Alençon. F.

(2) Deposition given May 7, 1456, by Theobald d'Armagnac, or de Termes, bailiff of Chartres, who was present at the battle of Pataye. F.

English on seeing their approach, began to prepare for engagement; unfortunately some officers were for fighting on horseback, others for dismounting, they retreated a little from their former position, and before they could form themselves in proper order, the adverse army came up with them, near a village called Pataye, 15 miles to the N. W. of Orleans, and charged so furiously, that the combat was as short as decisive.

A. D. 1429.

Sir John Fastolfe [1] was among the first knights who ignominiously gave the French opportunity to use their spurs, and fled without striking a blow, for which the order of the garter was taken from him, though afterwards restored, in consequence of his having given prudent advice previous to the combat, and some other favourable circumstances.

Besides the French in Henry's service, about 2,000 English were killed, or taken

(1) Born at Yarmouth, in Norfolk, 1377; this solitary instance excepted, he was an honourable knight.

Sir John patronised learning, was benefactor to both universities, and died in 1459.

prisoners, which last misfortune befel the lords Talbot, Scales, Hungerford, sir Thomas Rampstone, and others of some note.

That devotion, with which Joan seems to have been anxious to inspire her comrades, prompted them to immediate thanksgiving for their signal and memorable victory, gained with little loss, and which had abated the English courage, in proportion as it elevated their own. After this public act of gratitude, they carried their captives to Orleans, and were received in all its neighbourhood with boundless gratulation, of which their champion had the greater share. (1)

Charles was then resident at Sully, on the Loire, between Gien and Gergeau, thither the duke d'Alençon repaired with Joan and all the lords participant in the glories of Pataye.—Gracious was their reception, and the heroine had the honour to present to her sovereign, a captive hero,(2) in himself a host, the renowned and formidable Talbot; (3) also, in her quality of mediator, knelt to the king, intreating him to

(1) Monstrelet.

(2) Philip: Bergom:

(3) Afterwards ransomed, and created earl of Shrewsbury. In the year 1453, he was killed with his son, lord Lisle, at the

receive into his favour, the constable who had so faithfully served him, and bound himself to fidelity by renovated oaths. Charles either would not, or could not (with decency) refuse, therefore complied courteously, in spite of la Trimouille, who enraged at not being able to prevent this reconciliation, resolved to detract from its merits, by contriving that Arthur should not be suffered to attend the coronation, on a plausible pretext of remaining to guard the Loire, with the frontiers of Normandy and Maine; many nobles, and Joan herself, were not best pleased at this instance of weakness; yet what gratification for the latter to have

battle of Chastillon, being near 80 years of age, when he terminated his martial career. The grief of an old servant who had sought him out amid heaps of slain, is thus affectingly recorded.

"When the body of the earl of Shrewsbury, the Achilles of England was found, after the battle of Chastillon, upon Dordon, in 1453, by his herald, who as the historian words it, had worn his coat of arms; he kissed the body, and broke out into compassionate and dutiful expressions, Alas! it is you, I pray God pardon all your mis-doings, I have been your officer of arms 40 years or more, 'tis time I should surrender it to you; and while the tears trickled plentifully down his face, he disrobed himself of his coat of arms, and flung it over his master's body," thus performing one of the ancient rites of sepulture.

The noble veteran is said to have been victorious in 40 several battles, and dangerous skirmishes. Anstis, Collins, &c.

so far prevented a rupture, which from the feudal influence of de Richemont, and his brother, the sovereign of Brittany, might have been of serious consequence to the royal cause.

This very act of mediation had displayed her own influence, as not much inferior to that of princes, or the minions of royalty; she whose sword, whose very presence awed the enemies of her king, takes by surprise, those nearest and direst enemies the human passions, dispersing them with the artless eloquence of goodness and of truth; her services the while, like Cæsar's wounds, offering so many 'dumb mouths' to assist her plea.

The first effects resulting from the battle of Pataye, were that the English required Philip of Burgundy, to renew at Paris his treaty of alliance; while Charles placing himself at the head of 1,200 men, left Gien, to prosecute his expedition with elated hopes, and a retinue of increased splendour, viz. the duke d'Alençon, Charles of Anjou, the counts de Bourbon-Clermont, de Clermont-Vendôme, and Dunois, the

marshals de Boussac, and de Retz, admiral Culant, the lords de Cabanes, de Laval, de Loheac, his brother, and d'Albreth, the sieurs de la Trimouille, de Prie, Pothon de Santrailles, la Hyre, &c.

Thus attended, the king on the 19th of June continued his progress, Joan always in front near her standard, causing forced marches as much as possible, by way of Champagne, instead of Normandy, agreeably to her own opinion, which the generals had unsuccessfully opposed; a strong detachment was sent in the latter direction, under the constable's command, (1) and the remainder marched to Auxerre; on their arrival, all concurred with Joan on the expediency of attacking the place, whose wary inhabitants had however recourse to a golden shield, and two thousand crowns of that tempting metal, with which the powers of darkness cheat mankind, now showered on la Trimouille, warded off the threatened blow; Mammon inspired him with eloquence enough to persuade his master, that this siege would not only impede the com-

(1) Monstrelet.

pletion of their main object at Rheims, but let slip a favourable opportunity of courting reconciliation with the duke of Burgundy, in whose name the city was garrisoned; the inhabitants not to be wanting on their part, engaged to furnish the French army with boats and a present supply of provisions, so that leaving Auxerre unmolested, it proceeded to St. Florentin, which surrendered at once.

The favourite's avarice in this instance, perhaps was more beneficial than he intended; but the mind naturally asks itself, what potentates on earth could ennoble such a man, unless that healing power which some of them formerly arrogated, could have searched *evil* to the core!

Their next attack was upon Troyes, whose citizens followed neither the example of Auxerre, nor St. Florentin, but held out so stoutly, that the besiegers themselves were straitened for provisions, and reduced even to use horse beans. This being the case, they held a council, in which some were for raising the siege, and passing on, some urged (with greater propriety), that

if this city escaped after its formal summons, Chalons, Rheims, and other places would be encouraged to make as stout a resistance; while other counsellors more dastardly still, expressed themselves for returning to Orleans; in this class was archbishop Renaud de Chartres, who sharply gave his opinion that they had been too easily led by Joan, and that from the council assembled at Loches, he had foreseen all these impediments.

This from such a dignitary, was enough to turn the scale of debate, and the whole expedition had entirely failed, if Robert Masson, chancellor to the duke of Orleans, had not suggested (the maid having been absent from the council), that it was well worth while, to speak a few words on the subject, to her with whom this undertaking originated, who had surmounted as great or greater obstacles than the present; "Gentle dauphin," said Joan when she appeared, "hold not such long councils, put your hand to the work, and command the siege of this city,—in God's name I assure you, that in three days you will enter there,

through love or force, and much astonish Burgundy."—"Joan," said the doughty Renaud, "one would not object to wait eight days longer, if assured that what thou sayest would come to pass;"—"Doubt it not," she very coolly replied, "let them only follow me, and set hands to the work, for God wills that we help ourselves."

Quitting the council, she rode her horse to the city fossé, where having dismounted, she cried out for fascines, hurdles, and scaling ladders; her voice gave re-animation, every eye gleaming on her's as the focus of their energies, the admiring impetuous soldiers trod in her steps, while the citizens thus suddenly assaulted, and awe-struck at the wonders before them, instead of seeking God's omnipotent aid upon the ramparts, fled to implore it at their altars.

John Lesguisé their bishop, exhorted them to acknowledge Charles as legitimate sovereign, and to offer terms of capitulation; for which purpose they deputed the bishop and a few principal inhabitants, in whose train, led perhaps by curiosity or superstition, came the celebrated brother Richard,

a cordelier and preaching friar, of such suasive or vehement elocution, that the ladies of Troyes had been prevailed upon by his sermons, to burn their jewels and superfluous ornaments of dress. Richard became noted as a faithful adherent to the maid's good cause; no sooner did he approach near her, than crossing himself, he sprinkled holy water with all the mummery of exorcism, on perceiving which, Joan smiled [1] and said to him, "Approach boldly, good father, I take care not to fly."

The cordelier henceforward accompanied the troops of his lawful king, incurring thereby the contumely of his old party, with some degree of suspicion from the new, as though no honest man might conscientiously change his mind, a dangerous but too common idea, engendered in the recesses of pride, or the strong holds of obstinacy, every way inimical to candour and reformation of error. The sole disgrace that can attach is to a change for the worse, and brother Richard was a gainer on the side of justice: the deputation he attended,

(1) Sixth session, March 13, 1431. F.

obtained for their city such liberal terms, as always distinguished the influence of Joan; its garrison had permission to depart at pleasure, but she opposed and prevented their taking with them a single prisoner, as they originally intended; to the citizens was granted a general pardon, and those continued in office, civil or ecclesiastical, who entered into new covenants with Charles; the bishop's services in particular, were recognised by letters patent of nobility, for himself and relations.

Thus was Troyes subdued, by the noble principle of resisting despair. Its leading assailant must have well known how much of her future credit rested on the siege, that her's in the main, was an undertaking, which if not continually urged on, must entirely fail, leaving her country in greater peril than when she found it; hence probably, that sudden and desperate attempt, which seemed to promise itself conquest, or death.

All hands to work, is the main point of her exhortations—"God wills that we help ourselves."—Events, justified her judge-

ment; through boldness, perseverance and faith, she became victorious, to continue so, she was prudent, conciliating, and mild.

When the voice of panegyrick, protested that her conduct had no parallel in history, she made this singular reply, "In God's name! my Lord hath a book, in which no clerk be he never so perfect in clerkship, can read."

All this moderation in victory, gained ground more than hostile weapons; inferior towns followed the submission of Troyes; Châlons transmitted her keys by Peter de Latilly, the bishop, and some principal citizens; after which, Charles placing governors and garrisons in the captured cities, continued his march; but what can demonstrate a want of energy in his character more forcibly than the constant vigilance of Joan, to keep him from his native indolence; insomuch, that after the surrender of Troyes, she prevented the troops from passing there a single night, and on their nearer approach towards Rheims, when disturbed at comparing his object with his means, she allayed his apprehensions, represented the citizens as favourably disposed,

told him to advance fearlessly, and that it needed only good courage, to become soon master of all his just inheritance. (1) What advice for a monarch to require at such a period! yet, this prince was never deficient in personal valour, his mind relaxed by long trances of pleasurable ease, magnified every difficulty, and required such cordials as above, to raise his expectations, to refresh memory with what had already been achieved, and to put increased confidence in his tutelary genius.

At Rheims were stationed 600 picked men, under the sieurs de Saveuses and de Châtillon sur Marne, who urged the citizens to hold out, promising to bring them ample succours in a month at the latest, to accelerate which, they departed with their troops; no sooner was that absurd plan adopted, than a town council assembled, and decided on presenting their keys to Charles, at Castle Septseaux, about 12 miles from Rheims, in the dependancy of its archbishop: the king

(1) Deposition of the sieur Charles Simon, president in the chamber of accompts, and formerly ambassador at Venice. Given May 7, 1456. F.

made his public entrance into that city, on the 7th of July, as did likewise Renaud de Chartres, (1) for the first time since his ecclesiastical preferment; but the sovereign himself was not more remarked, or more gazed at than the female warrior in his train; for whom, the good people of Rheims evinced such high consideration, that when her father and elder brother came to see her there, they solicited to pay their expenses, over and above the lodging provided for them by the royal harbingers.

Arrivals however of greater splendour, graced the monarch's military court; the duke of Lorrain, and lord de Commercy brought with them a body of troops to tender their services, perhaps when least required, yet times of continued warfare, and desultory forces, greatly dependant on their chieftains' vacillating minds, ensured a welcome to every new accession.

It was now time to think of that coronation, for which so much had been ventured. The marshals de Boussac, and de

(1) He was twice made Chancellor, in 1439 obtained a cardinal's hat, and died in 1443 or 5.

Retz, the sieur de Graville, with admiral Culant, had the honour of fetching what was deemed Heaven's miraculous gift, the holy phial of St. Remi;[1] whose abbots guarded it with scrupulous care, nor ever removed it from that saint's community, without exacting oaths from every claimant, to escort and restore the precious charge, after its virtues had been tried on any successor of Clovis; nevertheless, the father abbot did not now trust it out of sight, but at St. Denis' church ceremoniously delivered it up to the archbishop, who attended by his numerous retinue of ecclesiasticks, conveyed it to the great altar of their cathedral, and performed the ceremony, to the no small gratification of Joan; who during that performance, having supported her banner near her sovereign, at the conclusion, knelt and thus addressed him, "Gentle king! I thank God, that he hath been pleased so happily, and in so short time, to fulfil what he had commanded me to tell and assure you, on

(1) It is pretended, that in the year 496, at the baptism of Clovis, by the bishop St. Remigius, this phial was brought from Heaven by a dove, because the saint could not reach the font with his usual unction, on account of an immense crowd!

his behalf;—that you were the only true and lawful king of France; that I should cause the siege of Orleans to be raised, and bring you in all safety to Rheims, in spite of your enemies, to be here consecrated and crowned, as you have been; doubt not that hereafter your affairs will still prosper from good to better, and that the things I have foretold, will happen in God's appointed time.—Here is my mission ended!"

Charles taking proper precautions to secure the city of Rheims, and having appointed as governor, sir Anthony de Hollande, the archbishop's nephew, quitted it on Tuesday, July 9, to obtain by a nine days' devotion at St. Marcou, the privilege of healing scrofula.(1)

(1) This ideal faculty of healing the struma or evil, the kings of England equally affected, as successors of Edward the confessor; and it was long before that relique of superstition vanished.

In the reign of Charles II. we find these orders, dated Whitehall, May 7. "His sacred majesty, having declared it to be his royal will and purpose to continue the healing of his people for the evil, during this month of May; and then to give over till Michaelmas next. I am commanded to give notice thereof, that the people may not come up to the town in the interim and lose their labour." Intelligencer, May 9, 1664.

So late as the reign of Anne, it had an appointed ritual in a

In the mean time, Joan caused letters to be written to the duke of Burgundy, requiring him, in the name of the heavenly king, to join his earthly liege; reminding him of his affinity to the blood royal, and repeating her constant assertions, that France would surmount its enemies; to these the duke paid no regard, and when the king sent ambassadors to him, Joan predicted that peace would be concluded only at the lance's point.

Prosperity seemed eager to second her favourable augury. Soissons, Laon, Provins, Château-Thierri, and other neighbouring towns submitted without a blow to Charles, then quartered at Veilly, near Soissons, where the adjacent country poured forth its inhabitants to greet their king, to behold his friend and theirs; from her the sacred tears of genuine sensibility flowed unrestrained, at their testimonials of affection,

book of common prayer. Round the patient's neck, was hung as amulet, an angel of gold, with the impression of St. Michael on one side, and a ship under full sail on the other.

But while ignorance lasts, so will superstition; and the hand of a malefactor, stroked over wens, still emulates royal functions!

where nature spoke wildly, but like herself, immeasurably deep; no wonder, that one of her most favoured children, Joan of Arc, should express aloud, that "She could be well content to end her days among such a people." These words, caught up by the clerical chancellor, induced him to say, "Joan, knowest thou when thou shalt die?" "No" she replied, "that is when it shall please God; but I could wish to return to my parents, and live with them in my first state, for I am wearied with the footsteps of war."(1)

It was however not thought expedient to part with one who had done so much, and who might yet do more; but no longer assisting at councils of war, she confined herself principally to cheering and partaking the soldiers fatigues.

John, duke of Bedford, finding garrisons thus lost without resistance, collected about 10,000 men, half English, half Normans, Picards, &c. and led them from Rouen, towards the isle of France, to encounter the army of Charles, and protect the towns in

(1) Deposition of the count de Dunois. F.

that quarter. From Montereau-sur-Yonne, he sent Charles a curious challenge, to stake their cause upon a general combat, *(see appendix)* and shortly after, the two armies came in sight of each other, at mount Epiloy, near Senlis; both parties maintained themselves in readiness for battle, but nothing more than some sharp skirmishes took place, and after facing each other two days and two nights, without coming to a general engagement they separated, the English for Paris, the French for Crespy and Compiégne; while stationed at this latter place, which had voluntarily surrendered, the king's ambassadors returned to him from Philip, with intelligence that nothing had been finally concluded at the Burgundian court, except that Philip would appoint his envoys to consider further on the subject. Here, likewise the king received intelligence, that the duke of Bedford had marched his army from Paris into Normandy, with a view of checking the constable's operations.(1)

Emboldened by this, as well as by the

(1) Monstrelet.

bloodless conquest of Compiégne, Senlis, St. Denis, &c. Charles proceeded to attempt the capital, hoping that on a near approach its inhabitants might be found placable as those of former cities, but in vain; they remembered their insults to him as dauphin, their many massacres of the Armagnacs, and were too conscious to be confiding.

The duke d'Alençon, Joan, the counts de Clermont, de Vendôme, the sieur de Laval, the marshals de Boussac, and de Retz halted with a body of troops, at la Chapelle, between St. Denis and Paris; however on Sunday, September 4, they were actively employed in besieging the metropolis. Their first efforts were directed towards the gate of St. Honoré, they proceeded to fire its barrier, dislodged the enemy from one of their posts, and made a feint on the gate of St. Denis, to prevent any sally from thence, that might have intercepted part of the royal army.

Joan leaping into the ditch of a bastion, cried out as usual for the implements of escalade, and followed by several officers, remained a long while on the counterscarp,

exposed to a continued shower of arrows, one of which from a cross-bow pierced her thigh; this wound which though dangerous was soon healed, checked her exertions, without abating a particle of her intrepidity; retiring behind a small mount, she rested till the duke d'Alençon sent to seek her, about the hour of vespers.(1)

This attack and defence of Paris, had been sustained with a bravery that cost many lives on both sides; but the French army incompetent to such a siege, and very likely further incapacitated by the temporary eclipse of their auspicious guide, had no alternative but retreat; accordingly they drew back on la Chapelle, from thence to St. Denis, where grateful to Heaven for safety, she made an offering of her arms in the abbey church; a trait perfectly consonant to her character for piety; yet we may here remark, that having considered her mission ended at Rheims, and having at that place requested a dismission, all subsequent instances of personal bravery, or mental resolution, must have had

(1) Monstrelet.

a deeper source than even the extasies of superstition.

At St. Denis, she again asked leave to retire from the army; a request not granted, for on the 12th of September, she accompanied Charles to Lagny-sur-Marne, where he had reason to expect a voluntary submission; from thence about the end of the month, he chose to return into Berry; on this return, they attacked the towns of St. Pierre le Moutier, and la Charité sur Loire, the first gave a vigorous repulse, at which Joan the redoubtable, stood firm, with so few adherents, that her intendant Daulon, ran to inquire why she did not retreat with the rest; raising her helmet from her head, she expressed herself assured of effective assistance, and determined to maintain her post to the last; a confidence which whether it had divine or human origin, or both united, was fully justified by the issue. Men, soldiers, ashamed to be deficient in valour before one who had so often shewn them the path of victory, rallied all their force, and by seconding her effort, subdued the place; they did not however thus

prevail against the town of la Charité sur Loire, notwithstanding similar tokens of their champion's bravery; severity of weather, or other causes induced them to abandon this enterprise, and pass on to Berry for winter quarters. There in the month of December, Charles as some acknowledgement of recent benefits, caused letters patent to be expedited at Meung, registered in the chamber of accounts, and
A.D. 1430. dated the 16th of January, bestowing temporal rank, where the King of kings had set a stamp of nobility, beyond the fleeting honours of man!

She thereby acquired for herself and family, the illustrious name of Du Lys, in double allusion to her spotless fame, and to those armorial bearings of France from whence she derived her own.(1)

(1) She bore a pointed sword, surmounted with a crown, proper, between two fleurs de lys, on a field, azure.

The arms of France were three fleurs de lys, or, on a field, azure; supporters, two angels in the habit of Levites, each holding a banner of the same arms; crest, an open crown, &c.

Charles not only granted these honours to all her family then living, but to their posterity, both male and female; with a peculiar privilege to the latter of ennobling their children, independent of their husband's rank; which privilege however

I must here observe, that the foregoing act strongly controverts those derogatory ideas concerning Joan, which would represent her sentiments conformable only to her birth and breeding, or would pourtray her as nothing beyond a tool of state contrivance. If the mind had not soared far beyond the bounds of station, a cottager she had remained through life.

Charles in his then situation, would hardly dare to insult the nobility and gentry of his kingdom, by raising to their level one likely to disgrace it, and who had not purchased it at the usual price of service, wounds, and dangers, as some equivalent for ancestry; nor could he without brutal mockery to a benefactor, assign them any reward he knew them unable to appreciate, consequently as such to feel.

Joan though actuated by no worldly minded motives of avarice or ambition,

in the year 1614 was abolished, at request of the procurator general.

I have not met with any thing remarkable of her collateral descendants: in 1628, one of them, M. Charles du Lys, collected and published at Paris, a quarto edition of all the inscriptions and verses written in honour of his name's immortal founder; and in 1760, the male branch became extinct.

might surely value this not only as the least sordid gift of her prince, but as a token of approbation to herself, and of continued favour to her family; were it otherwise, that sovereign would have sought out some more mercenary recompense, and not 'cast his pearls before swine:' neither have we reason to think of his taking care to reward in any shape whatever, those who blindly prompted or tutored by others, could of themselves little deserve it; much less of his handing down such reward to posterity: no, the mere instrument of others, after shewing their purpose, would have been dismissed with a very trifling gratuity; those who invented or moved such a piece of state mechanism, would in the exultance of complete success, have some day or other betrayed the secret springs and wheels originating with themselves; this has not been done; we are therefore free to consider Joan's personal aggrandizement, as a tribute of honour to her exalted character. That the blood shed freely in her country's defence, and in the cause of suffering humanity, enriched and ennobled what remained; while

purity of life, propriety of manners, and loftiness of soul, stood sponsors for that dignified support of honours, which neither birth nor education can always insure. It appears more clearly in this light, because subsequent to the date of her rank, however ardently she might still desire, she seems no longer to court repose—in her generous bosom, the most just reward only stimulated additional exertions, notwithstanding at times a mournful presentiment of misfortune.

Easter terminated a truce between the English and Burgundians, which had been employed on both sides in preparation for more strenuous efforts. The latter not content with martial manœuvres, secretly employed their wealth, and seduced by that, Guiscard Bournel, the king's governor of Soissons, basely betrayed his trust.

On the other hand, Sens and Melun submitted to Charles. Lagny then becoming once more an object of attention, Joan who had returned with a body of troops to the isle of France, hastened to its relief. The enemy's attack upon Lagny, arose from its

interrupting communications between Paris and their city of Meaux, so as to impede succours; and its defence was intrusted by Charles to Ambrose de Loré, and John Foucaut. During the siege, these took prisoner in a sally, Franquet d'Arras, the famed Burgundian captain, whom they executed as a freebooter or kind of military outlaw, whose death requires notice here, it being by his partisans falsely imputed to Joan, and made a subject of accusation on her trial, now unfortunately fast approaching; in fact, she had interceded for this chieftain, till it appeared that his notorious crimes deserved the severest chastisement of justice, not only for retribution, but for example.

The enemy having also besieged Compiégne, her presence was thought necessary there, and thither she guided the troops; on their march, the traitor Bournel refused admittance into the gates of Soissons, obliging them to take a retrograde circuit towards Compiégne, which she entered the 24th of May. After taking necessary rest, she lost no time in making a sortie, and the

eve of Ascension was that which saw her tide of fortune turn; gloriously she stemmed the refluent torrent, to the last moment buffeting despair!

A partial, severe, and at first successful attack, upon the English and Burgundian quarters took place, but the French giving ground, began to retreat; while Joan maintaining her post in the rear, anxious to bring off the men, with little loss,(1) repeatedly drove back the enemy to their intrenchments, till the alarm becoming general, all endeavoured to cut off her retreat; the few French who aided her were repulsed, and being pulled from her horse by an archer, after prodigies of valour, she surrendered to a gentleman who happened to be nearest at hand, the Bastard of Vendôme,(2)

(1) Monstrelet.

(2) There is a dignity in this instance, worthy of remark. If Joan's good sense and presence of mind had not pointed out what was due to her recent exaltation, she would have submitted at once to the archer, instead of seeking an officer to take her pledge.

That it was a point of honour, we may gather from similar instances. At the siege of Gergeau, lord Suffolk being summoned to surrender by a Frenchman named Renaud, first inquired if he were a gentleman and when answered satisfac-

It is said, that sir William de Flavy, governor of Compiégne, treacherously contributed to this disaster, and when taken to task, escaped only for want of proof; but in times when circumstantial evidence would have been sufficient, such acquittal may be admitted as some tolerable exculpation:[1] doubtless there were many false admirers, who envied her well earned fame, the major part however deplored her loss, with a grief proportionable to their adversaries' joy, which was great indeed. Paris celebrated the event not only with bonfires, but a public Te Deum in the cathedral of Notre Dame. Her baffled comrades re-entered Compiégne, dejected at a loss with which victory would have been dearly purchased, and doubly mortified by the vociferous huzzas of their enemies, whose

torily, asked if he were a knight,—Renaud replied he was not; then said Suffolk, "I make you one," and dubbed him with his sword, before he surrendered it.

(1) Innocent or guilty, Flavy did not escape his share of suffering; his son Louis, a young man of 22, was struck dead by an engine, at the siege of Compiégne; and in the year 1464, his own wife caused his throat to be cut by his barber, who being unused to the office of executioner, she seized the razor

exultation we are told was greater than if they had captured five hundred others, since no other French commander was so dreaded."(1)

What can express the importance of this exalted young woman, more forcibly than the contrasted excess of national feeling upon her account, even though we trace it to a selfish principle? unfortunately that major part who most felt, had the least power to retrieve their amission. Charles tendered a feeble and ineffectual ransom then quaffed to her remembrance the waters of Lethe, nor came to recollection, till it little availed.

Vendôme surrendered the illustrious captive to his general, sir John de Luxem-

and completed the assassination. Nevertheless, she was afterwards pardoned; probably through the interest of her family, which seems to have been of some note.

(1) So Monstrelet affirms, and indeed from the general evidence of history, we may form some idea however imperfect, of those terrors which her very name inspired. Even in this country it was not unusual to make proclamation, for the sheriff of counties, "To apprehend those who had deserted and concealed themselves *for fear of the maid!*" and if there needed any further confirmation of this general panick, the regent duke of Bedford, has himself afforded to it. *(see appendix)*

bourg, count de Ligny,(1) in whose custody, Philip duke of Burgundy had the curiosity to visit her, who had so often defeated his subjects. Monstrelet informs us he attended the duke at this interview, without mentioning a single word that passed, giving for reason, that he did not recollect, although he was present; a singular circumstance rather, since the words of princes are not apt to fall unheeded, nor was this a common or uninteresting event. In some parts this historian is tediously minute, and one would suppose that natural curiosity must have awakened his attention enough to retain the substance, if not the words of their discourse, in which no doubt, Joan reproached the duke for his political conduct; therefore the most probable conjecture is, that the historian not choosing to incur his sovereign's displeasure, and too honest to falsify what passed, of two evils preferred the least; a conjecture strongly corroborated by his total silence as to her trial; that tragic conspiracy which in solemn mockery

(1) Of the ducal house of Brabant, and commander of the Burgundian forces.

of justice, in defiance of all honesty or honour, bestowed on virtue the opprobrious meed of guilt, leaving to after ages, one among countless lamentable proofs of what perversion humanity is capable, when warped by bigotry, revenge, or prejudice.

Thus enchained by vindictive powers, Joan allayed in prayer the bitterness of reflection, as well as the irksomeness of confinement, to which she had hitherto been a stranger. The chief points of her petitions were,—first, that she might not suffer long.—Secondly, that it might please God to succour the French.—Thirdly, to effect her own salvation.—And lastly, that if she were taken to Paris, she might have copies of the questions asked her, to present them to her judges.

Meanwhile, the allies redoubled their attacks on Compiégne, which held out unrelieved till the ensuing November, when count de Clermont Vendôme collecting all the troops his sovereign's garrisons could spare, marched to its succour, and forced its assailants to raise the siege, who retreated with the quadruple mortification of

having ineffectually lost men, baggage, time, and credit; for though in fact, they had clipped the hornet's wings, its sting had penetrated too far, to be eradicated by their utmost exertions.

Under a strong escort she was removed from Marigny, to the castle of Beaulieu, whence having attempted her escape, they confined her for four months in that of Crotoy; Luxembourg then removed her to Beaurevoir, a castle of his own, situated in Artois, where being falsely and maliciously told that Compiégne was on the brink of destruction, and destined to the horrors of storm, as a warning to other garrisons, she sorely wounded herself in a desperate leap, hoping by her presence to avert its fate. While thus transferred from prison to prison, if friends were passive, not so were foes.

The university of Paris, blinded by party prejudice, urged count de Luxembourg to resign his charge to the inquisitor, brother Martin, and Pierre Cauchon, bishop of Beauvais, the latter of whom, formally summoned the count, and the duke of Burgundy also, to yield their prize; but

Luxembourg viewing her as a source of emolument, refused compliance, till in November a bargain was concluded, whereby for the sum of 10,000 franks, he sold her to the English,[1] who thenceforward kept her in close custody at Rouen.[2]

This very transaction conveys to the mind an idea of unfair dealing, if nothing had been intended but what was just and honourable, why not have left her in the hands of Burgundians, who as well as the English were enemies to her party, who had equally the power of punishment? but

(1) In addition to this sum, an annuity of 300 livres was granted to the bastard of Vendôme; so that upon the whole her purchase was rated higher than the ransom of the great Du Guesclin, a ransom in his days thought considerable.

Had Luxembourg transferred Joan only to his own prince, no blame could have attached to him; since prisoners of war under a certain degree, were so much the property of their captors, as sometimes to be left as legacies, or inherited by seisin, unless the sovereign chose to purchase them.—Thomas, lord Berkeley, took so many prisoners at Poictiers, that with their ransoms he built Beverstone Castle.

(2) Within those castle walls, the royal Arthur of Brittany, fell a victim to his uncle's dagger.

Similar to Du Lys, in youth, spirit, and hard fate, those waters which laved her prison, had been his grave, and also became her's.

no, Philip 'the good,' though not so perfect as his epithet implies, was not that prince from whom they might expect the purchase of a paltry revenge, at so immense a price as integrity and honour.

Blinded by rancorous passions, it was the supreme desire of those whose career she had thwarted, whose long labours she had unravelled, to crush their victim, for which purpose some art was requisite, and arts enough they found. The university of Paris with officiously servile zeal, petitioned by letter the anglo-gallic court, for her speedy A.D. 1431. chastisement, and on the 3d of January, the bishop of Beauvais was commissioned as her judge, though she was not taken prisoner in his jurisdiction, but in the adjoining one of Soissons, consequently amenable to the bishop of that diocese.

The metropolitan of Beauvais known to be a zealous partisan of the English, and not over nice in the means of displaying it, rendered expedient this first informality; other ecclesiasticks were to assist him, and it redounds not much to his credit, that some appointed, at their peril refused; alas!

their places were too easily supplied! with such engines as power and wealth, a work of mischief need never stand still, and the prelate on his part, spared no pains to gain eternal infamy.

He first thought proper to dispatch one Moreau, a citizen of Rouen, into the neighbourhood of Joan's native place, with orders to scrutinize every particular of her life; the result of this inquiry so little accorded with Beauvair's desires, that instead of rewarding his messenger, he refused to re-imburse his expenses, and paid him only with abuse.(1)

Before we enter on a brief sketch of the process against Joan, it will not be amiss to expose the illegality, and some of those despicable artifices with which it was attended; according to the principal register or secretary on her trial, at its commencement, a priest named John Lohier, arrived at Rouen, to whom was communicated for his opinion, a copy or plan of the proceedings drawn up by the bishop himself,

(1) Process of revision, at the end of informations gained at Rouen. F.

which Lohier requested two or three days to examine, but was told to make his report that same day, he did so, and objected to the process as invalid, chiefly assigning the following reasons:—that it was carried on in a close and guarded place, where the attendants were not at full and entire liberty to speak their full and free will:—that in this cause they implicated the honour of a king, whose party she espoused without summoning him, or any one for him:—that no articles or declarations had been delivered, and that this woman had no counsel, to answer masters and doctors in theology: these opinions highly incensed the bishop, who told Lohier he should stay to see the whole carried on, the other replied he would not, whereupon M. de Beauvais went to seek his juridical adjuncts, and said, "Here is Lohier would give us in our process, fine interlocutions! he finds fault with the whole, and says it is worth nothing, who would think it were to be begun again, and all we have done worth nothing?" then repeating Lohier's objections, he concluded, "it is plain on what foot he halts; by St.

John! we will do no such thing, we will go on as we began."

Manchon, the same secretary, afterwards observes, that the next day he himself having met with Lohier, in the church of Notre Dame, asked him what he thought of the trial and of Joan, he replied "Thou seest in what manner they proceed, they will ensnare her if they can by her words, that is in assertions, where in regard to visions, she says 'I know for certain,' but if she said 'it seems to me,' instead of 'I know for certain,' my opinion is, that no man can condemn her. It appears that they proceed more through hatred than otherwise, and for that reason I will no longer tarry here, I will not be present at it," and in fact, adds Manchon, he has since lived at the court of Rome, and died there dean of the Rota.(1)

On the fourth or fifth day of their proceedings, a priest named Eustache Turquetil, conversing on the subject with John Massieu, a clergyman of Rouen, said, "What thinkest thou of these answers?

(1) Deposition of William Manchon, first secretary to the condemnatory process.

Will she be burnt? What will come of it? Massieu replied, "I have hitherto found in her nothing but virtue and honour; I know not what will be the end, God knows!" from which answer, by some means or other, Massieu was reported as unfavourably disposed toward king Henry; and in the afternoon sent for to M. de Beauvais, who told him to take care how he mistook, or he should be made to drink once more than he chose, nor would he have escaped with this reprimand but for the notary Manchon.[1]

The conduct of her judges fully justified the light in which Lohier viewed it; in order to make her convict herself or lay a foundation for interrogatories, the bishop employed a priest and confidant of his, named Loyseleur, to inveigle confessions by pretending to be like herself a prisoner, and also from her neighbourhood, while two persons were stationed within hearing, at an aperture in the wall to note down their conversations;[2] a device worthy of its author, before whose tribunal every

(1) Deposition of John Massieu.
(2) Depositon of Manchon.

effort was used to perplex her with questions intricate, equivocal, frivolous, or insulting, often issuant from different quarters at the same moment, so that once being thus harassed by some friars, she at last exclaimed, "Good brethen, one after the other."

It was on Wednesday, the 21st of February, that she first appeared before her judges, charged with a crime the bare mention of which is now its own acquittal: her requests were, that there might be included in that tribunal as many ecclesiasticks of her party as the other; next, that being under the cogizance of, and tried by an ecclesiastical court, they would remove her to their appropriate prisons; and lastly, that the irons might be taken off from her feet. It is scarcely necessary to mention the denial of all these requests; she then took an oath to speak nothing but the truth, declaring at the same time that to save her life, she would never make known what she had told her king; on this score, threats and importunities had no effect, nor was the bishop much more regarded, when he commanded her not to make any further

attempts at escaping, she nobly answered, that she did not admit such a command, for if she fled, no one could blame her.

This was the first of fifteen preliminary examinations, lasting from the 21st of February, to the 17th of March.

The following were their principal subjects of inquiry; her letters dictated to summons the English before Orleans, and her answer to the count d'Armagnac respecting the papal schism; *(see appendix)* the letter of this count, John IV. written from the court of Arragon, plainly shews the respect paid her by persons of highest rank; its commencement "My very dear lady, I humbly commend myself to you, &c." and that of her answer, "Count d'Armagnac, my very dear and good friend," are not the forms of rustic salutation, they present the courtesy of equals. *(see appendix)*

Though many months had elapsed since Joan's letters were written, she perceived on hearing them read, what liberties had been taken with them; some passages addressed to the English, were altered, some additional words inserted, and in her epistle to Spain,

they made her dubious as to the legitimate pope, when in fact she always acknowledged that pontiff imediately resident at Rome, Martin V. The cross placed between or before and after the words Jesus, Maria, they construed into symptoms of magick, though she maintained that it was a custom sanctioned by churchmen.

The young man who falsely pleaded her promise of marriage at Neuf Châtel, in Lorrain, was one source of discussion; they totally reversed the fact, by accusing her of having cited him, to perform a contract; but she affirmed that she had made to God a vow of celibacy.

Without canvassing the propriety or impropriety of such a vow, I must observe, that when thus voluntarily taken beyond a convent's walls, it is the effervescence of no ordinary character, and whether Joan resolved upon it from natural preference or prudence only, or from both, it was at all events best adapted for the undertaking she had in view.

When questioned concerning her purposed flight from Beaurevoir, she acknow-

ledged it was through pity for the inhabitants of Compiégne, and in regard to similar attempts from other places, said, that by God's permission she would gladly escape, but without any violence.

The wearing male attire, was another article to be discussed; her reasons assigned were, that she had a superior order to wear it, that it best befitted a warrior's life, and was best calculated in that station to second her vestal vow; on which last account, having while in prison quitted her masculine attire, she afterwards resumed and slept in it.

Under the old Mosaic dispensation, this temporary change of sexual apparel, was for the wisest and best motives strictly forbidden; the letter of that law is not destroyed, only superseded by the spirit of another; that divine code framed for, and adapted to the most peculiar people under Heaven, in all its institutes was plainly ascertained and defined; consequently observance of every the minutest article strictly required, even to the very taking of a bird's nest.(1)

(1) Deut: c. 22, v. 6 and 7.

Christianity which was to embrace members of different nations, manners, customs, and prejudices, of necessity gave wider latitude to conscience, secure that she should render her children more tremblingly alive to its slightest remonstrance; only the decalogue and commination were left binding both on Jew and Gentile, in letter, in spirit, and in truth, till the Almighty law-giver returned in judgement. Not that all minor prohibitions are to be considered as annulled, because they cease to be decrees absolutely irrespective; the law of self-preservation, of necessity, or of good will to man, are urgent claims for exemption; but they must be urged at the bar of conscience, with a thorough conviction of final responsibility for the motives, if not for the deed.

If in the present instance, Joan erred through ignorance of any prohibition, could it be imputed to her as a crime?—If she did not, but truly believed herself to have been inspired, guided, and directed by providence, she might naturally conclude that the great Founder of laws could at any

time, at all times abrogate or suspend them, and where she felt no scruples, felt no guilt; yet that she always kept in view the line of rectitude, her own words on another occasion, testify, "God forbid! I would rather die, than do any thing I thought a sin, and contrary to the will of God."

In battle, armour was necessary to meet armour; masculine habiliments at court, to blind licentiousness; in prison, to daunt brutality; certain is it, that nothing could be more likely to avert or repulse the affections of man, than adopting the habiliments of that sex, or in any degree the semblance of its costume.

I have already mentioned the principal points of Joan's fifteen preliminary examinations, the other queries were most frivolous and absurd; for instance, whether she did not bribe those who took Franquet d'Arras prisoner? "Do you take me for a treasurer of France, to give money thus?" said she. Whether she had seen some angel hovering near her king? "Pardon me" she replied, "and pass on." If the saints appearing to her had hair? "That is well

worth knowing!" was her answer. If St. Michæl had hair? "Wherefore should it have been cut off? she asked, and "think you the Lord hath not wherewith to cloathe him?" when they indecently inquired whether the archangels were clad. Among other absurdities, they desired to know if Saint Margaret spoke English? "Why should she speak English, seeing she is not of the English party?"

These specimens may suffice to shew with what littleness on their part, and what dignity on her's, the pretended trial was supported, nor did she fail at different periods to protest against it. In the most impressive manner she addressed de Beauvais, "You say you are my judge, I know not if you be, but consider well, that you may not judge ill, because you put yourself in great danger; and I warn you, that if God finally punish you, I do my duty to give you warning."

More than once she appealed to the pope, an appeal which of course was not suffered to approach St. Peter's Chair; and they employed Loyseleur the priest already

mentioned, to divert her from any such notion, in which nevertheless she still persisted. A like firmness marked her conduct in regard to that secret speech to her king, which the judges so anxiously, so repeatedly desired to know; neither art nor anger could avail, and when hard pressed, she referred them to the sovereign himself.

How can we sufficiently admire the magnanimous fidelity of this excellent girl, to one, who, if he had not wholly forgotten, but faintly espoused her cause; fearlessly she tells the men of power, that he will possess his kingdom in peace; and at another time, that in seven years, the English would abandon a much greater prize than they did before Orleans; that they would lose all they possessed in France, and sustain the greatest loss there they ever experienced. She declared, she had rather die than have one act rescinded, which by the order of God, she had performed for the king's service, professing to look for no other reward than the salvation of her soul. When the judges affecting to consider her principles heretical, enjoined submission to the church, they received for answer, that

if she had spoken against the faith, they had only to let her know, and she was far from wishing to maintain it.

Such were the prefaratory proceedings of a corruptly biassed junta. On Thursday, the 22nd, Saturday, the 24th, Tuesday, the 27th, and Wednesday, the 28th of March, they sat for Destivet, the bishop's proctor, to read to her, copies of the preceding examinations, and afterwards, seventy articles, which he had deduced from them, to form a mass of condemnatory inference; detecting his falsehoods, she refuted them by queries of her own; nevertheless, he finally concludes, that she be "Declared a sorceress, conjuror, false prophetess, a worshipper of dæmons, a conspirator, full of, and wholly devoted to magic, savouring ill of the catholic faith, sacrilegious, idolatrous, apostate to the faith, blaspheming the name of God and his saints, scandalous, seditious, troubling and preventing peace, provoking to war, cruel, desiring the effusion of human blood, inciting to shed it, having entirely abandoned and cast off the modesty and decency of the feminine sex, taken the habiliments of military men,

without any shame or confusion, forsaken and despised the law of God and of nature, and the ecclesiastical discipline before God and man, seducing the princes and the people, having consented that they should adore her, and kiss her hands, and her garments, to the great contempt and injury of the honour and worship due to God; demand that she be declared heretick, or at least greatly suspected of heresy, and legally punished according to the divine and canonical institutes."

It were impertinent to point out the contradiction and absurdity of a decision, which terminates in being 'greatly suspected;' since the plainest understanding must discern in it the plainest iniquity, but this farrago of invective, bore unintentional testimony to the great extent of her popularity; and we cannot but admire, how injudiciously they bring forward as a crime, the most incontrovertible evidence of her merit, viz. that affecting homage of love, gratitude, and veneration, which consecrated even her person and apparel.

On Monday, the 2d of April, the court

sat to compile twelve articles, if possible more malignant than those of the proctor, to whom they were delivered on Thursday the 5th, to be sent to the university of Paris; it was not till Saturday the 19th of May, that the opinions affixed to them by the university, were communicated in council to her judges. The faculty of divinity had anticipated the desires of M. de Beauvais and his proctor; but the faculty of law, with some shew of moderation submitted her censure to the holy see. This application to a community so perverted in judgement by a general anglomania, affords another instance of the pains they took to give their premeditated sentence some faint colouring of equity.

During the intermediate space between the dispatch and return of those twelve articles, Joan's persecutors were by no means idle; they still laboured to draw from her the secrets she withheld, and endeavoured to make her simplicity criminate herself, while she as strenuously persisted in declaring an entire submission to the church militant in matters of faith; but

respecting the services rendered her king and country, acknowledged herself accountable only to God.

The bishop, as may be supposed, would not have this protestation officially recorded; upon which she observed, "Ah! you take care to write what is against me, and will not suffer them to write what is in my favour;" a remonstrance, which gave no little displeasure to the reverend assembly.

She again made a demand, ineffectual as at first, to be conducted before the Roman Pontiff, but an augustine monk, named Isambert de la Pierre, found means to approach her in court, and persuaded her to make appeal to a general council held at Basil,(1) explaining its nature, and that it contained members of both parties; this induced her to exclaim aloud, "Oh since here are none of our party, I will surrender and submit myself to the council of Basil." The bishop enraged, cried out to brother Isambert, "In the devil's name! be silent!" and all this friendly adviser gained by his interference, was a

(1) The general council assembled at Basil, was then holding its first session, which commenced the 19th of July, 1431.

menace from the English to throw him into the Seine, if he did not hold his tongue.[1]

About this time, she was one day visited in the castle, by an unwelcome company, consisting of that count de Ligney who sold her, another Luxembourg, who was Henry's chancellor in France and bishop of Therouanne, together with the earls of Warwick and Stafford. Ligney pretended he was come to treat for her ransom. "I don't believe it," she replied, "I know it is a mockery, for you have neither the will nor the power;" and added, "I know well that these English will kill me, thinking after my death, to gain the kingdom of France; but were there a hundred thousand *godons*[2] more than there are now, they will not have this kingdom." Her words, her intrepid and dignified air so exasperated lord Stafford, that if Warwick had not

(1) Deposition of Isambert de la Pierre. F.

(2) The word *godons* is only a gallicism of Englishmen's favourite blasphemy; an expressive nickname, shewing at once Joan's abhorrence of profaneness, and that our countrymen of the fifteenth century, possessed at least one *accomplishment* common to their posterity of the nineteenth.

prevented, he was about to disgrace his sword for ever, by using it against an unarmed woman;[1] and thus resenting tokens of a spirit, yet unsubdued, notwithstanding the cruel burthens heaped on mind and body.

They even granted or denied by caprice, her participation in the offices of religion, to her the fountain-head of consolation. According to the deposition of one who assisted in conducting her to and from prison, during her trial, they had to pass the castle chapel, where Joan requested of him permission to offer up a prayer, for which permission, John Benedicite a proctor, calling Joan by an opprobrious epithet, thus sharply reprimanded him, "Rogue, what makes thee so bold as to let that —— excommunicated of the church approach? do so again, and I will have thee put into such a tower, that thou shalt see neither sun nor moon for a month."[2]

(1) Deposition given on the 7th of May, 1456, by the sieur Haimond, lord of Macy, who was an attendant at this interview in the castle of Rouen, and who had also seen her at the castles of Beaurevoir and Crotoy. F.

(2) Deposition of Massieu.

Her limbs were almost rendered useless, by the weight of bondage attached to them. Her feet continually dragged heavy chains, and at night were fettered with double irons, when a stronger chain encircled her body; altogether so connected, and rivetted to a large piece of wood, as for many hours to debar the power of motion.(1)

No one had access to her prison, without authority from either cardinal Beaufort, Beauvais, or lord Warwick the governor, therefore the soothing voice of compassion never entered; without, all was rayless, cheerless gloom; within, the comforter abode; yet moments there doubtless were to one of such keen sensibility, when nature sickened at pourtraying the helpless anguish of her family; and heavily sighed at the depravity of her persecutors, for the stoutest heart must feel those hardships it magnanimously endures.

Her frame, however robust, was unequal to the spirit it contained; pale, emaciated, and enfeebled from ill usage, want of exercise and air, poison had nearly

(1) Deposition of Massieu.

demolished the remains of a sound constitution. Some stewed carp brought on a dangerous malady,[1] from which youth enabled her to recover, and the dish having been cooked at the bishop's kitchen caused him to be suspected of so foul a deed; but it was far more likely to have been the act of some dependant, thinking thereby to perform an acceptable service, or was perhaps merely the effect of an improper culinary utensil, because her persecutors from the very first, seemed anxious to preserve her for a public execution, deeming that the most likely to pollute her fame for ever, by the stigma of sorcery; a crime most detestable to the ignorant, who suppose themselves least guarded against its mischief.

When her illness caused them to apprehend a too speedy release, cardinal Beaufort and lord Warwick sent two physicians, named William de la Chambre and William Desjardins to attend her, with especial orders to endeavour a cure, but by no means to breathe a vein, least she should forcibly bleed herself to death; because

(1) Deposition of John Typhac, canon of the holy chapel of Paris, and physician. F.

the king of England would not have her die privately if possible to prevent it; that he had paid a high price for, and would have her burnt;[1] yet Beauvais himself came to the castle, and as a last resource, to make her reveal all she knew, threatened to put the torture; her soul looked down upon him, as she answered, that whatever she said in that situation, she should immediately recal when freed from the rack; however the next day, this prelate and his co-adjutors were so merciful as to decide, that in her present state of health, it was not safe to adopt such a test, as her death would be the probable consequence.

On Thursday, the 24th of May, the bishop attended by cardinal Beaufort, with several other bishops and abbots, repaired to the burial ground of St.Owen abbey, where they made a last public attempt to extort confession or recantation. Joan being there placed on a scaffold, was first addressed in a sermon full of malicious and calumnious invective; particularly against king Charles. "Ha! noble house of France," said the preacher

(1) Deposition of the sieur de la Chambre, physician. F.

Erard, "who hast always protected the faith, hast thou thus been deluded, to adhere to an heretick and schismatick, 'tis a great pity!"(1) Joan bore all very calmly, except the abuse of her king, which at one time roused her indignation to say aloud, "Save your reverence, I dare tell you, and swear on forfeit of my life, that my king is the most noble of all christiáns, loves better the faith and the church, and is not such as you say."(2)

Terms certainly very strong, but in all probability the preacher had so disfigured his royal portrait, as to make the original angelic by comparison, and in quick resentment of falsehoods, the most scrupulous do not always weigh their words to the full import. the sieur John Massieu had orders to silence her,(3) and at length the bishop finding her still obstinately bent upon appeal, gave notice he was about to pronounce her sentence.

(1) Deposition of William Manchon,

(2) Deposition of John Massieu.

(3) Depositions of Massieu himself, and of Martin Ladvenu, a dominican, who accompanied her to the last. One given on the 17th, the other on the 19th of December, 1455. F.

At this time they represent her as having signed a long recantation. The signature or mark of one who could neither read nor write, and who moreover was in durance among no very liberal adversaries, candour itself may fairly look upon with an eye of suspicion; or even granting unlimited credit to this deed, it would rather betray the weakness of human nature in its best estate, than any extraordinary degree in the suffering individual.

He, the rock whereon was built a fabric, the gates of hell shall not prevail against, in the hour of peril, after all his self-reliance, denied his master; our pious Cranmer, no mean disciple of that master, appalled at the horrors of an igneous doom, outwardly gave transient denial to his inward creed; it would not therefore be surprising, if a young and innocent woman, worn out by persecution, had so far felt her generous spirit subdued, and her hopes with every vision dispersed; but we are assured in the testimony of John Massieu, who himself read to her on the scaffold the real retractation, that it was a very small

paper, not containing more than eight lines, and those merely declaratory of her consent never again to adopt male attire, never to bear arms, nor any longer to crop her hair after the military fashion; which formula differed wholly from the one subsequently fabricated; and well might she subscribe to its few stipulations when expected captivity in a dungeon or a grave, ensured obedience.(1)

Thus did Beauvais' artful designs clear the way for that premeditated injustice, which at once decided her fate. It is not then very wonderful, that on the 28th, when the centinels removed the chains that impeded her rising, they should refuse her female apparel, while on her part she refused any other, saying, "Sirs, you know it is denied me, without fail, I shall not take it;"(2) but at length, her firmness was obliged to submit in spite of itself, so that when M. de Beauvais came to the prison, he found her as he expected in the forbidden garb. Unable to contain his exul-

(1) They had pretended to sentence her to imprisonment for life, upon diet of bread and water.

(2) Deposition of Massieu. F.

tation, on leaving her apartment, he said aloud to some English who were present, "Rejoice! we have carried the day!" calling a council in the castle, on the 29th he declared her relapsed, and summoned her to attend at 8 o'clock next morning, in the old market-place of Rouen.

At 7, M. de Beauvais himself waited on his victim, to give admonitions or exhortations, which it was not unlikely he needed most; by his order brother Martin Ladvenu, a dominican friar, received her last confession, and administered the sacrament; after which she was conducted to the market-place, guarded by a corps of seven or eight hundred men, armed with swords, axes, &c.[1] attended to the last by brother Martin Ladvenu, and John Massieu rector of St. Candide, at Rouen.[2]

(1) Depositions of Manchon and Massieu. By this armed retinue, it appears as though they dreaded the effects of compassion, especially as M. du Fresnoy mentions, that some of the people of Rouen had already been hardy enough to throw stones at the bishop. Such striking hints of disapprobation are still the more forcible, when we recollect that his patrons and Rouen's masters, the English, were holding their regal court in that city.

(2) Deposition of Massieu. F.

On her arrival at the fatal scene, she was again elevated on a scaffold to hear the sermon of Dr. Nicholas Midy, a zealous English partisan, the bishop then publicly pronounced her passport to eternity, which was scarcely uttered before Dr. Midy said, "Joan, the church can no longer defend, but abandons thee to the secular arm."

Instantly she knelt down in fervent prayer. Having requested Massieu to procure for her a cross, some Englishman made one out of a stick he held in his hand; she took the artless symbol of redemption, saluted and pressed it to her bosom, with as much ardour as she afterwards did one they brought her belonging to the church; tears flowed copiously down her wan and hollow cheeks, as one more sinned against, than sinning; who shall say that some were not shed for the miserable guilt of others? nor did she weep alone, many a sympathizing eye bespoke how much it takes to quench the feelings of humanity, and that while one particle remains, it operates on fiercest passions, like oil on the stormy wave.

She now descended from the scaffold accompanied by Ladvenu. The bishop with some others approaching near to see her, she told him he was the cause of her death, that he had promised to place her in the hands of the church, and that far from keeping that promise, he had delivered her up to her most cruel enemies; the executioner then seized her without the least sign of secular authority, further than the bailiff of Rouen crying out, "Take her away! take her away!"

Multitudes groaned when they beheld the last shocking spectacle, when they heard her continually amid flames, invoke divine support, in the blessed name of Jesus! but through him the refined spirit soon triumphed over all; and those ashes for which Greece or Rome would have contended, which either would have enshrined, were scattered to another abstersive element,[1] as though in honour of the soul's extraordinary piety, the body were destined in no ordinary manner 'to see corruption!'

(1) Her ashes were cast into the Seine; but a superstitious awe led to imagine, that her heart, as well as intestines were incombustible and unconsumed.

Joan du Lys was of the middle size, had an open countenance, black hair, and was of a frame extremely robust;[1] in fine, to use the precise words of Daulon, who had been daily in the habit of seeing her, she was young, handsome, and well made.[2]

(1) Philip: Bergom:

(2) An English traveller gives the following description of her portrait, kept in the town hall of Orleans.

"In the hotel de ville is a portrait of the same immortal woman, which I studied long and attentively, though it was not done till 1581, which was near 130 years after her decease, it is yet the oldest and best picture of her now existing. The painter seems undoubtedly to have drawn a flattering resemblance of her, and to have given his heroine imaginary charms.

Her face though long, is of exceeding beauty, heightened by an expression of intelligence and grandeur, rarely united. Her hair falls loosely down her back, and she wears on her head, a sort of bonnet, enriched with pearls, and shaded with white plumes, tied under her chin with a string; about her neck is a little collar, and lower down, upon her bosom, a necklace composed of small links. Her dress which is that of a woman, I find it difficult exactly to describe; it sits close to the body, and is cut or slashed at the arms and elbows; round her waist is an embroidered girdle, and in her right hand she holds the sword with which she expelled the enemies of her sovereign and her country."

It should seem, that notwithstanding her entire freedom from personal vanity, she yet knew how to maintain those appearances of dress, &c. due to her acquired station; for Pontus Heuterus observes, that in her last sally from Compiégne, she was distinguished by a purple habit, of mixed silk and stuff, embroidered with gold and silver.

According to the general characteristick of her countrywomen, she had a sweet voice, and insinuating speech,[1] rendered still more so, by the purity of her manners. A nobleman of her time observes, that she was very graceful on horseback;[2] and one author informs us, that when thus mounted, with military accoutrements, she might well be taken for a general; whether from the tone of voice with which she commanded, or the propriety with which she delivered her orders.[3]

The epithet of 'great,' as attached to human character and conduct, being often so egregiously misapplied, it may not be improper to consider what it really means, before we make any application of it in the present instance. Were I asked what constitutes this innate grandeur, this superiority of one mortal over millions, I should say it consisted in a happy combination of christian graces, with heathen heroism; deeming no temporal sacrifice too great, to

(1) Philip: Bergom:

(2) Letter of Guy XIV. lord of Laval, in la Roque, cap: 43 of nobility. F.

(3) Batt: Fulgose.

answer the claims of patriotism, or philanthropy, the whole tempered with that elasticity of mind, which not only best accommodates itself, but imparts its dignity to any change of station; loving and fearing the Creator beyond a world's applause, loving to benefit *all* his creatures, but fearing *none*.

Let those who too often measure merit by success, only apply the following touchstone. It is true, this man has risen to the topmost pinnacle of fortune, has conquered innumerable obstacles, also braved many dangers; but has he attained that eminence with pure hands, and upright heart, has he sought no bye ways, or subterraneous paths to the temple of fame? would he who now perhaps gives laws to nations, have been the law's firm supporter as a private individual, honoured, revered, in civic and domestic life as a pattern among men? would he now dignify adversity?

If these cannot be satisfactorily answered, the object of inquiry has sought and obtained only a splendid phantom, whose gigantic vapours may indeed for a while fill this earth, but before the all-piercing beams of righte-

ousness and truth, must one day shrink to nothing! If we allow or admire greatness independent of all goodness, we may admire it in the arch-enemy, who wars with principalities and powers; those who with the inseparable union, achieve renown, are while yet on earth, the satellites of Heaven! those who obtain it without, are but meteors portentous to themselves and others.

I would not bestow on Alexander, that epithet which justly distinguished our immortal Alfred. To my mind, William Wallace shone more majestic on a scaffold, than Pompey in a car of triumph; Gustavus Vasa handling the mattock in Dalecarlian mountains, than the conqueror at Pharsalia, and the self-mortified cardinal Ximenes, than his ambitious Cæsar embroiling Europe. Remarkably did Ximenes prove the independance of a noble mind on circumstance or station. An aged ascetick, emerges from his cell to bear the weight of empire, to direct the civil, military, and ecclesiastical resources of a kingdom against foreign enemies, and internal faction; directing them not only without stain to his sanctity,

but with a princely dignity, generosity, and munificence; resigning the charge to his master more flourishing and powerful, than it had ever been before. How does the false glare of grandeur round Charles V. fade before the better genius of this venerable, and illustrious servant, whose years had nearly amounted to eighty, when he thus indefatigably laboured with all the prudence of age, the energy of manhood, and the spirit of youth![1]

Such then are the truly great. Let us examine whether this comprehensive epithet may be justly claimed for the far famed maid of Orleans; who if she did not rule a kingdom, under providence saved one; in whose brief existence, were crowded the main vicissitudes of life, obscurity, prosperity, and adversity. Richly endowed with such moral qualifications as seem most opposite in their nature, and are therefore the most rarely found united, each gradation was but a step nearer to perfection. A stranger throughout to every selfish passion, in the zenith of favour, she only solicited

(1) Vide Robertson's Charles V.

for others, nor sought for herself any further reward than dismissal to that family and home she was never to regain; yet this desire however natural and laudable, was stifled in the further service of her country, contented to remain we may almost say a voluntary victim, so much against her person were the chances of war; by sight well known, yet more so by her hostile weapons, there was in part, every reason to expect the fate that awaited her; with that melancholy sagacity often attendant on genius, she herself foreboded it, but firm and undismayed pursued the phantom of destiny.

It was excess of philanthropy, which thus trampled on personal feelings. Her heart, the shrine of exquisite sensibility, though cased with a valour never surpassed, that same woman who every where sought the invaders, who foremost scaled their ramparts, dealing death and destruction with avenging arm, wept for the souls of her enemies, protected defenceless foes, and graced victory with the blessed attributes of mercy, as some destroying angel might view the havock of necessity; nor could

personal sufferings deaden or diminish those benign sensations.

In Joan too, were happily blended humility and greatness, with loyalty and patriotism. Though strangely translated from a cottage to a court, attracting in youth's first bloom, the observation of all Europe, and placed on a par with the nobles of her land; no mean or vain-glorious affectation, tarnished honours, which fairly gained, sat easy as though they were her birth-right. As the friend of her prince, zealous, circumspect, and profoundly reverential, yet prompt to speak with energy the dictates of her mind; deaf to the voice of adulation, unable to pay, and unwilling to receive it. As the friend of her compatriots, active, vigilant, conciliating, and authoritative; in arms, their comrade as well as leader, sharing and cheering their fatigues, animating them by voice, gesture, and example to deeds of high emprise; her own blood, shed without emotion, but their's beheld with sympathy, arousing to resentment; nothing that concerned them was indifferent, their shouts of gratitude, their spontaneous

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tokens of affection, she could only answer with affection's tears; while more courtly panegyrists, received her steady reproof. Devoted to her king and country, she persevered through contemptuous rebuffs, to offer up ease, comfort, and existence on the shattered altar of national welfare; forsaking every thing most dear, for scenes of carnage and of woe!

What could the most veteran commander, the most experienced statesman sacrifice more than his all? Her all, indeed seemed at first a mite, but Heaven's blessings attended it; the widow's cruse at Zarephath, was not so lasting, so productive and efficacious.

There remained yet another ordeal, to prove that no change of circumstance could sully a reputation, wherein chastity, temperance, and prudence, were the close companions of fortitude.(1) Behold her then, when in the power of ruthless adversaries, bereft of every earthly enjoyment, a prey

(1) The jewel reputation, Joan held precious herself, its wary guardian, she always when in garrison, shared the apartment of some respectable lady, and in camp, slept without taking off her armour.

to suspense, harassed by tedious examinations, threatened with torture, having before her the melancholy prospect of life-long imprisonment, or an ignominious agonizing death; and as though this better potion were insufficient, finding in its dregs, ingratitude—fickle friends! barbarous enemies! we can scarcely term the heroine fallen, else might be applied to her, these animated words of a modern writer; "I saw her just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she just began to move in, glittering like the morning-star, full of life, and splendour, and joy; oh what a revolution! and what a heart must I have to contemplate without emotion, that elevation and that fall!"(1) and who can contemplate without emotion, that sublimest spectacle in nature, a christian expanding to meet adversity, and wrestling with it, till the giant's sinews are shrunk? the weaker external appearances, the more majestic seems internal strength.

At this young and cruelly afflicted woman, laden with massive chains, wasted by

(1) Burke on the French Revolution. p. 112.

sickness, standing before evil judges, without a pleader, and without a friend; one might look in vain for that dreaded being, who was once the scourge of oppression, and liberator of the oppressed; if her soul, too mighty for its poor abode, had not identified itself by increased serenity, discernment, fearlesness, and dignity.[1] Imagination under the guidance of truth, no longer views the faded form, fettered with iron, but hampered in its own laurels, no longer encircled by the thorny wreath, but by a halo of resplendent beams, till admiration lords it over pity.

What could have supported her through such vicissitude, but conscious integrity, deeply imbued with that essence of devotion, which led her repeatedly to wash away the specks incidental to mortality, fast as they arose, in fountains of living water, the

(1) Her captivity lasted a year, the latter part of it for months, passed amid continual vexations; yet no menaces could gain from her the least undue submission, no artifices mislead her from the simple truth; were the questions asked her perplexing, she requested time; were they insulting, she answered with contemptuous brevity; baffling them all by the assistance of her only counsel, good conscience, good sense, and good memory.

never-failing springs of mercy? In vain, might charity, or hope have urged her to the eccentric path she trod, if faith had not been her conductor. In vain, might she have recognised claims upon her exertions, where thousands would see none, had not devotion impressed them with the sacred seal of duty, not to be broken through, without impiety and pusillanimity.

Unless prevented by needful avocations, she attended daily mass, and at evening, was accustomed to assemble all the chaplains of the troops in some nearest place of worship, there sending up praises to God and hymns to the holy virgin; yet we do not find that any superstition, prevented her from occasionally prosecuting her enterprise on the sabbath-day.(1)

It is so natural, in the great bulk of mankind, to judge of persons and things according to their own feelings or prejudices, to measure the past, and shadow out futurity, by the standard of the present; moreover, so few have either leisure, or inclination to fathom the sources of events, to weigh evidence, or transport themselves by the

(1) Deposition of the count de Dunois. F.

force of imagination, into centuries now mingled with 'years beyond the flood,' to take in at one view, the difference of manners, customs, &c. that the conduct, and perhaps the very existence of Joan would be now disputed, but for the accumulated evidence of history. In doing justice therefore to her character, and personifying all the triumphant patriotism of Greece or Rome's best days, in the truly christian girl, I should almost despair of awakening conviction, were it not for so many testimonies to her words and deeds, transmitted to us through writers of honourable name, of different nations, periods, and ranks; nay, even through her enemies themselves.

In history, this heroine stands so unique, combines such opposite virtues, with such natural strength of intellect, and ardent piety, that we may almost regret, as Mr. Hume does respecting Alfred, the absence of those minuter touches, which even among saints and prophets, evidence the adhesion of human frailty; and regret them the more, because such blemishes give some life to a portrait, in the eyes of those,

who readily attach credit to the most monstrous representations of depravity, and refuse it to the loveliest images of virtue. As though when history recorded any character remarkable for its beauty, pointing out this man, or that woman, as possessed of all the virtues that adorn humanity, it by any means presumed that they were infallible, or any thing more than free from guilt, premeditated and habitual.

I have ever deemed it best for the interests of man, to expatiate upon his angelic rather than his diabolical capacities. For alas! none can be ignorant of human frailty, who carry it every where about them; of ourselves we are too apt to lean for excuse, on that slender reed; but most are blindly incredulous of that height, which has been, will, and must ever be attained, by the unwearied perseverance of human efforts, imploring and humbly seconding divine aid.

That I have not attempted to delineate imaginary perfections, let a select few speak for themselves; and first Henry of Gorcum[1]

(1) A Dutch divine at Gorcum, and subject of the duke of Burgundy. He wrote in 1429.

says, "We are assured, that she has always preserved her virginity, and that to extreme temperance, she unites a perfect modesty, that penetrated with true piety, she prevents not only death, but the pillage and violence that might be used to those who submit to the party she has embraced; this is what induces all the towns to swear fidelity to the king's son."

An anonymous author[1] in 1429, the very year of her exploits, observes, that "She generally passes for one of good morals, of prudent conduct, of a conversation mild and modest, she is peculiarly distinguished by her humility, by a sincere piety, she adds to it a superior talent for war, of which she foresees the events; she confesses herself often, and strengthens the uprightness of her intentions, by frequently receiving the sacrament: her love of virtue, makes her detest all that is termed rapine and wrong, she succours the poor, and

(1) This writer dwelt in the neighbourhood of Spires, and wrote a little treatise, intitled Sibylla Francica, which he finished the 17th of September, 1429, six months after she had appeared at court. It has been divided into two parts, and published by Melchior Goldaste, a celebrated German compiler.

protects the orphan, these reasons make her esteemed and respected in France; this young girl is moreover, much attached to the catholic faith, to the worship and the sacraments of the church; the effects of her all christian life, diffuse themselves over all she actually does, and over all she undertakes; and whatever wonder she works, is careful to attribute it to the holy trinity; by this pious attention, she succeeds according to her desires; she seeks only peace, comforts the poor, loves and follows justice and equity; but above all, she affects neither riches, nor pleasures, nor any thing of what is termed the luxury and vanity of the world."

St. Antonin[1] says "It was not indeed known by what spirit she was animated, but it appeared by her works that it was by that of God himself; since nothing was seen in her, but what accorded with the public good, nothing that seceded from the catholic faith, she was given to prayer, frequented often the sacraments of penitence and the eucharist."

(1) He was archbishop of Florence, a prelate of erudition in the 15th century.

Æneas Sylvius[1] records, that "In his time France beheld Joan, a virgin, a native of Lorrain, as was believed divinely inspired.

Philip of Bergamo,[2] "The first process was revised and examined, and they found that innocent as she was, they had unjustly condemned her, by means of calumnies invented to declare her guilty of sorcery and magick, whereas, her conduct and her life carefully scrutinized, contained only actions worthy of praise."

James Meyer[3] "Her conduct which was closely examined, was found wise and prudent.—She answered with much prudence, and in a very orthodox manner."

(1) This celebrated Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, was one of the most pious and learned that ever wore the triple tiara. He was born in 1405, elected pope by the style of Pius II. in 1458, and died in 1465, distinguished as a poet, orator, and historian, having left various epistles and other works; Pius was likewise famous for his aphorisms, one of which, shews his attachment to learning, by the observation, that "Common men should esteem it as silver, noblemen prize it as gold, and princes as jewels."

(2) James Philip, a monk of the augustine order, born at Bergamo, 1434, and died in 1518, he wrote a latin chronicle of the world, from its creation to the year 1503, and in the same language, a treatise on illustrious women.

(3) A Flemish historian, born near Bailleul, died in 1552.

Pontus Heuterus,[1] "She was examined in full council, and answered there with much prudence and presence of mind."

Such were the evidences of foreigners, unbiassed by prejudices, English, or French, and as M. du Fresnoy very justly remarks, "When I see the Italian, the Spaniard, the German, the Hollander, the Fleming, and even the Englishman, agree in speaking well of a Gaul, I then conclude, that such good is true."[2] It may therefore seem superfluous to add the deposition of an honourable man, her principal attendant, given in writing and upon oath, twenty-five years after her death, but concluded in such a simple yet touching strain, that it irresistibly claims attention.

(1) Provost of Arnheim, in Guelders, in the sixteenth century; he cites as his authority, George Chastelain, who wrote in French, a history of duke Philip the good, and who himself had seen Joan.

(2) M. du Fresnoy elsewhere names a Greek, Laonicus Chalcondilas of Athens, who fled into Italy after the taking of Constantinople, by Mahomet II. in 1453.

And we may add, Anthony Bonfinius, who though born in Italy, became a resident and pensioner in Hungary, under the kings Matthias Corvin, and Ladislaus; for the former, he wrote his history of the Huns; for the latter, that of Hungary in general.

"And the said deponent firmly believeth, as he hath above said, that seeing the deeds, achievements, and great conduct of the said maid, she was full of all the virtues that can and ought to be in a good christian; and therefore he hath said and deposed as above written, without favour, hatred, or subornation whatever; but only for the sole truth of the fact, and also as he hath seen and known to be in the said maid."

Authorities like these will surely suffice to justify the highest eulogium, to manifest that in true sublimity, original genius, and intrepid perseverance, Joan la Pucelle cedes to no hero in the records of time.

Vice, always a sceptick as to that high degree of perfection it will not endeavour to attain, vice, conversant only with the weakness and follies of a puny race, may despise as extravagant, this tribute to her worth; while characters neither of virtuous nor vicious distinction, immersed in the more sordid speculations, or frivolities of life, may deem it perfectly unnecessary, if not absurd, to canvass the merits of one, whose actions took place near four hundred

years ago; but the heart that is not moved at the bare recital of a virtuous or heroic deed, will not easily be moved to effect one; while the generous spirit delights to contemplate worth wherever it may be found, to render justice, however late, no party, sect, or nation, neither private pique, national enmity, nor the lapse of ages bounds its homage; ever seeking from the wise and good a something yet to learn.

By such, the foregoing pages will not be disdained as a sincere, though imperfect tribute, to the memory of one, who with filial piety, imbibed the poison from her country's wounds, and fell the martyr!

They will not be displeased to find, before they close this volume, that the gratitude of France awoke from its lethargy, though too late to save its object. Once roused, the national sensation did not quickly subside; and a fond credulity, produced at different times false Joans, who pretended to have escaped out of the enemy's hands. One in particular, during the year 1441, attracted so much notice, that Charles VII. (in all probability more for pastime than

any thing else), resolved to see her. He had some time before hurt his leg, so as to wear a singularly shaped boot, with which the impostor became previously acquainted; and Charles, seated under an arbour in a garden, ordered one of his gentlemen in waiting, to go and receive her, and at the same time, to personate his sovereign; but the woman not seeing on his leg, the expected sign, walked directly up to the king, who professing a momentary surprise, said, "Maid! my friend! welcome again in the name of God, who knoweth the secret between me and thee;" which words he had no sooner uttered, than his terrified auditor sunk at his feet, implored his pardon, and confessed the imposture; for which her prompters were severely chastised.

Popular clamour, and perhaps his own remorse, induced Charles[1] to issue letters

(1) To do him justice, when gratitude cost no great exertions, he was not ungrateful; he had at one time, a medal struck in honour of Joan.

On one side was her effigy; on the obverse, a hand grasping a sword; the legend,—'Consilio confirmata Dei.' Sustained by the counsel of God. And Domremi her native place, was exempted from all taxes, aids, and subsidies for ever.

patent at Rouen, *(see appendix)* bearing date the 15th of February, 1450, to examine and revise the heroine's condemnatory process; but it was not till the 7th of July, 1456, that the solemn sentence of her absolution and justification *(see appendix)* was promulgated by the archbishop of Rheims, the bishops of Paris, Coutances, and Dr. John Brehal, inquisitor of idolatry and heresy in the kingdom of France; commissioners appointed by a bull of pope Calixtus IV. to settle this affair, they bestowed every pains on its examination, summoning not only every one who had been concerned in the first process, or who had any knowledge of the proceedings, but also the heirs of bishop Cauchon, William de Hellande, his successor in the bishoprick of Beauvais, and that successor's proctor; together with all who had any immediate concern in her proceedings, previous to the capture at Compiégne.

The depositions upon oath of such numerous witnesses, *(see appendix)* could not but produce this justification, which was ordered to be published at two places in the city of Rouen, first at the burying

ground of St. Owen, with a sermon and general procession, and next with a similar ceremony at the market-place where she suffered.

The inhabitants of Orleans, displayed their grateful sense of her services, by giving residence and pension to her widowed mother from the year 1438 to 1458, when she died among them, and the pension was continued to her son, Peter du Lys; nor did ever any of that family enter the city, without receiving the honours due to their descent.

An annual procession was instituted to commemorate her deliverance of Orleans, on the 8th of May, and a monument of bronze erected on the bridge, representing Charles VII. and Joan kneeling before the holy virgin, both armed at all points, except the helmets placed at their feet. If the undistinguishing ravages of revolutionary madness have not levelled this, with other sacred things, it is one of the most valuable relics of history.

It is further recited, that many of her persecutors died violent or sudden deaths.

Far be it from us to decide on the judgments of Heaven; it is sufficient to mention, that the bishop of Beauvais met with that contempt he deserved, his diocesans chased him from their city, and the English gained him the bishoprick of Lisieux, which he held from the year 1432, till the 18th of December, 1442, when he died, as a coroner would now say, 'by the visitation of God.'

Louis XI. a monarch seldom severe on the side of justice, nor prone to gratitude, dissatisfied with the extent of Joan's first justification, procured from one of the best of popes, Pius II. about the year 1462, other commissioners for a further investigation; and finding that two of her corrupt judges were yet living, he had them taken, tried, and after a confession of her innocence, condemned to be burnt alive. The remains of two other judges, deceased, were dug up and burnt; and their confiscated property applied to build a church, on the spot of her execution, wherein a perpetual daily mass was founded for the repose of her soul.

Dreadful was the retribution of Louis, more suited to his gloomy nature, and the

pagan rites of Nemesis, than to a christian prince; but it shews some strong impressions left on his mind, by the tragic catastrophe of a woman, who at the court of his father, had doubtless been personally known to him in his boyish days.[1]

> Thus, round the nations was her praise displayed,
> Thus, to her fate the debt of vengeance paid!

(1) Louis was born in 1423, consequently was nine years old at the time of her execution.

SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS.

The perusal of English historians, as far as relates to the subject of the foregoing memoirs, has always left on my mind some impression of inconsistent, not to say unfair animadversion; professing to seperate the credible from the marvellous, they generally end in heightening the wonders of an event, in itself sufficiently extraordinary. Those universally established facts which ought to speak for themselves, have been so clouded, by confounding her agency with that of others, as to veil more than half their lustre. Joan's youth is either denied, or only used to discredit her operative sufficiency; Joan's ignorance is dwelt upon, not the ignorance of that age; her enthusiasm, not her genius. They grant her unblemished integrity, yet represent it as conniving at the most unnecessary deceptions. Either this girl, deserves the unqualified admiration paid to sublimer souls, or merely

the applause due to animal courage. Do we praise the sword, however excellent its temper, or the arm that wields it?

It remains therefore to offer a few observations on the before-mentioned difficulties.

And first with respect to the age of Joan, I have conformed to the chronology of M. du Fresnoy, who places her birth 'at the latest,' in 1412; some writers surmise, that she was older than what the French represented; Hume in particular, supposes near ten years; however, the accounts of elder historians, do not warrant any such supposition. Monstrelet, who had actually seen her, reports her to have been 'about twenty years old;' had he thought otherwise, he would have been far from concealing that opinion, to favour the deception of enemies; though he might be mistaken in a year or two, the artificial addition of ten, in the morning of life, is too palpable to deceive the most common beholder; nor if feasible, does there appear in it any extraordinary expediency. Joan at twenty seven, would be little less of a phœnomenon than at seventeen, for the glow of genius or of en-

thusiasm, is much oftener precocious than otherwise, and oftener still when found in woman.

But to shew how little confident are those who impugn the assertions of historians, coeval with the facts themselves, I have only to state one remarkable contradiction, in a writer, whose history of England is justly admired. Dr. Henry, then, says in his ninth volume, she was born A. D. 1407, consequently represents her age to have been twenty two, on her first public appearance, and twenty four at her execution; in the tenth volume however, when mentioning the terrors of the English, he says, "But as soon as the maid of Orleans, a poor obscure servant girl, about *seventeen* years of age, appeared on the scene of action, the fortune of the war and the spirit of the contending nations were entirely changed."

Upon the faith of a zealous Burgundian, Enguerrand de Monstrelet, most of our historians, represent her as having been servant at an inn. His words are, "Which maid Joan had been for some time, chambermaid at an inn," but he never points

out where, which he most likely would have done, had he been correctly informed.

Inns, and houses of public resort, though of undoubted antiquity in cities, sea-ports, &c. could not in villages and inferior towns, have been so thoroughly established. Travellers were as yet, too desultory, and too scarce to make them answer. When the nobility journeyed, it was either with a train of attendants, baggage-wains, and sumpter horses, or else they halted at some of those castles, which almost every hamlet afforded; while the poor gained shelter in monasteries, or from the promiscuous kindness of villagers. Hence probably those multitudes of palmers, and pilgrims, who under such habits, sought protection from insult, and insured a welcome. Hospitality in its most enlarged sense, was common to all ranks,

James I. of Scotland, passed an act that in all boroughs, and thoroughfares, there should be one inn or more, for the reception of man and horse; but so little encouragement did the people give them, that the hosts were obliged to petition parliament, and procured another act, whereby tra-

vellers were absolutely forbidden to take up their quarters at private houses, wherever these inns or hostels were, under a penalty of forty shillings for themselves, and a like sum for those who entertained them.

Supposing Joan therefore to have been servant at an inn, we may fairly presume, that it was in some city, or town, too considerable to pass unnoticed. It is true, there have not been wanting some to supply the deficiency of Monstrelet; and Henry is one who says, (but without citing his authority), that "She spent her youth in the service of several families, particularly of a widow, at Neufchâtel in Lorrain."

It does not appear to me very plausible, that a girl of seventeen should have already spent her youth (or rather childhood) in the service of *several* families; no, not even if we add four or five years to seventeen. In those days, a demand for hireling servants was not so very great; the gentry chose their domesticks among the daughters of their tenantry and vassals; those they retained, because they had the power to correct or chastise their faults; and the in-

firmities of age, nay death itself, still found them sheltered within the walls of their lord. The poor needed no other servants than their own offspring. The middle class then, chiefly confined to cities, and towns, would have been that, in which Joan served several; yet I question if these were much inclined to change, especially one so strong, active, and of excellent character. The very place assigned her, argues against itself. Are we to suppose that in Lorrain, young women were so scarce, or in such great request, that the inhabitants of Neufchâtel had occasion to procure them from the adjacent territories of a foreign prince? If she had really been thus domesticated in the duke's dominions, what occasion was there for him to send her a passport from St. Nicholas to Nancy?

I have an idea, that the whole of her alledged servitude originated in the circumstance of going with her parents to Neufchâtel; which from its situation, was not subject to the danger they apprehended at home. It is far from improbable, that during their short sojourn there, she had

made herself useful by assisting and waiting on the host or hostess who received them, as some equivalent for that reception; and thus when she had emerged from the fogs that obscured her brightness, reports' double tongue might raise here and there, a partial bruit, that she had been employed in menial services at Neufchâtel. Moreover, the station assigned to her is the most unfavourable in the world, particularly in such disorderly times, for that piety and modesty, that propriety of speech and demeanour, so universally acknowledged. Even supposing her principles too assured for contamination, one of her description, blest with health and strength, would have resorted to any honest means of livelihood, that avoided scenes revolting to her nature. Add to which, the little cessation from labour she could have experienced in such service, if as pretended she united that of hostler [1] to her

(1) The word hostler, hosteller, or hostelier, in its primitive sense, signified nothing more than the publican himself; and in this sense, we find it used in the 4th and 11th of our Henry IV. and elsewhere.

See statutes at large, vol. 1. p. 455, 475, &c.

other occupations, would leave very little room for meditations to engross the mind. In thus assigning her an occupation, they set aside the one most simple, obvious, and probable, as well as most consonant to the enthusiasm of thought, that engenders elevated deeds. Merely because the word shepherdess now bears a romantic sound, as if it necessarily followed that because a pastoral life is congenial to poetry and romance, it existed only in the poet's dreams; whereas there are reasons to believe, that even in that iron age, much greater attention was paid to herds and flocks than to tillage. Woollen was the chief article of clothing, and numerous were the statutes for its mercantile regulation.

Continued warfare with internal and external enemies, had so extremely reduced population, that necessity not unfrequently changed arable into pasture land, for want of sufficient hands to cultivate it, and the natural consequence was occasional dearth. If therefore national commotions so drained the country of husbandmen, we may rea-

sonably conclude, that many agricultural offices, more especially such as the care of cattle, were performed by girls and women.

Somewhat later in the same century, we find a shepherd girl become distinguished in arms. Bona was tending her flock in the Valtelline, when Peter Brunoro, an officer in Sforza's service, passed that way, and struck with her noble mien, took her as his mistress; his constant companion in the chace and the camp, she became such a proficient in the military art, that when Brunoro afterwards married her, the Venetians entrusted to them jointly, the defence of Negropont, against the Turks.

One great disadvantage to the biography of Joan d'Arc, is that ignorance and simplicity, so mentioned by modern writers, as to give an air of imbecility, if her actions did not contradict it. In a noble character, conscious of nothing to conceal from unworthy motives, and hating vice as much as it loves mankind; genius uncontaminated by worldly intercouse, will always wear that transparent veil of simplicity, to which the most sublime and beautiful of the fine

arts, owe their principal charm. Any one at all acquainted with chronicles of yore, especially of those times, must know that for a peasant girl, education was totally out of the question, when not only ladies of highest birth, but very many of their mighty lords could neither read nor write. Literature at a low ebb, even in courts and cloisters, had shared the languor of chivalry, nor revived till a blessed art brought to light its hidden treasures of science and of wisdom. How then should this ignorance be any peculiar disadvantage to an individual, when the great mass of society knew no more than what they learnt from experience, meditation, or acute perceptions. The Omniscient proves as much by his distribution of the mental faculties, as by any thing else, that he is no respecter of persons, though graciously pleased to make art the handmaid of nature; he is also pleased to remind us by splendid examples, of the latter's innate superiority. We know that at present, the blessings of literature, or at least the two first germs of it, are widely diffused; but while we duly appreciate those

blessings, we are apt to depreciate the very channel through which they flow. What though this be an enlightened age, though the orb of science beam in meridian splendour, thousands who can both read and write, never look into books, nor handle a pen except in the transaction of pecuniary concerns. Indeed I fear there are among the worldly great, whose choice libraries too much resemble the miser's guinea; while on the other hand, the original ideas of a sensible but uninstructed mind, rise faster than the pen of another can transcribe; and that 'heart, once pregnant with celestial fire,' bosomed in the lowly born, wants not so much learning, as opportunity to display its powers. "The woods of America," says Locke, "as well as the schools of Athens, produce men of several abilities in the same kind."(1)

(1) There cannot be a finer illustration of this remark, than the speech of an American chief to lord Dunmore, so remarkable for grandeur, eloquence and pathos, that I trust the reader will excuse its insertion.—"I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat, if he ever come cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan re-

What useful inventions, what benefits we should have lost, if nature's ample page had not thus contained instruction for her children, and kindly lent to some the promethean torch of genius, where fate withheld the lamp of learning. It is not therefore more surprising, that illustrious characters, like meteors should dart athwart the glooms of barbarism, than that now, with all the collected precepts and examples of nearly six thousand years, our latter days should produce so few.

Much stress is also laid upon Joan's ignorance and inexperience in the military

mained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, 'Logan is the friend of white men.' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it: I have killed many: I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbour a thought that mine is the joy of fear.—Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan?—Not one!"

In the speech of an Iroquois chief to general Burgoyne, occurs this energetic expression, "Our hatchets have been sharpened upon our affections."

profession, by those who seem not to have sufficiently recollected the nature of the times in which she lived; when that art was very far from the complex kind, which now requires a life of theoretic as well as practical study.

Noble and vassal, priest and layman, merchant and mariner, almost every one bore arms at some period or other of his life; when personal prowess, with little more than the sagacity of a keen hunter, were requisite to distinguish him as a soldier; for through Europe, discipline was in its infant state,(1) and exceedingly imperfect in France, where the troops rushed to combat, almost as disorderly as they fled. Even in times of general peace, the villagers were continually liable to private feuds, in which their bold peasantry caught some stratagems and manœuvres of war. How much more then, when a nation had been for many years only one vast field of action. Women, and those too of rank, caught the military flame.

(1) Even in the sixteenth century, no European armies were so well disciplined as the Turks.

We are told that at the siege of Sens, A. D. 1420, were "many worthy laydes and gentilwomen, both French and English, of the whiche, many of hem begonne the faitz of armes long time agoon, but of lyying at seges, now they begynne first."(1) Nor was this extraordinary, however inexpedient, since the very diversions they partook, were of an active and martial nature. The chase, the target, the tournament, &c. were so many preparatory schools for the field of Mars. At tournaments, it is true, they were only spectators, but spectators usually see more of a favourite game, than those who play it; and vanity, dreading disgrace to their colours, would naturally watch every stroke or turn, with breathless anxiety.

Women of all ranks, if they would not perpetually vegetate on the spot of their nativity, found it necessary to emulate the equestrian skill of the other sex.

Accustomed to brace both muscular and mental powers, with archery and hunting, unacquainted with the nervous and hypocondriac diseases of their remote pos-

(1) Rym: Fœd: vol 9, p. 911.

terity, illustrious dames even princesses, feared not to face the warring elements, nor to mount the fleetest steeds.(1) Horsemanship constituted a most material part of military exercise, for in a charge of cavalry, the chief dependance was on the goodness of the animal, the firm seat of the rider, and steady guidance of the lance. Joan's skill in this respect, is surely as well accounted for by Philip of Bergamo, as it could possibly be, by her riding jaded horses to water. Such diversions may now appear Quixotic, but their antiquity equalled their simplicity.

Under the Roman name of quintanus, and of quintain, or quinting, among the

(1) In the year 1415, when a great nobleman, Waleran count de St. Pol and de Ligny, fell ill at his castle of Yvoix, his countess whom he had sent for, did not arrive before his death, though her neice and herself rode astride, on hard-trotting horses, to make the more speed; and further, to shew that this was no such very violent exertion, we are informed that when she had remained at Yvoix about eight hours, and disbanded the men at arms of her late lord, she returned to Ligney-en-Barrois, where she had the count's obsequies celebrated.

This lady was sister to the duke of Bar.

A sovereign princess, the famous Jacqueline of Hainault, made her escape from prison in male attire, and on horseback.

moderns, this tilting furnished both practice and amusement for the agile. Originally it was nothing more than a post or trunk of a tree, set up for military novices, till in process of time, a shield was attached to it, against which they threw darts or broke lances in efforts to beat it down; at length was substituted a large wooden figure, armed with a shield on one arm, a club in the hand, and turning upon a pivot, so that when the performer gave blows, his dexterity was to avoid a stroke from the club.[1] Thus then Joan merely ran the quintaine in its original form.

Her mind once possessed with its grand design, it is more than probable she neglected no means of strengthening by exercise,[2] a frame naturally robust, and ob-

(1) 'Running at the quinting' was one among the many diversions of bear-baiting, tumbling, morrice-dancing, &c. performed before queen Elizabeth, during her splendid visit to lord Leicester, at Kenilworth, in the July of 1575.

(2) We may form some idea of the amazing strength to be acquired in a life of hardihood, and manual exercises, by what Petrarch relates of the famous warrior, Mary of Puzzoli, whom he saw before a concourse of people, throw into the air with apparent ease, a block of stone, and a piece of wood, laden with iron, which many of the spectators could only move.

taining by practice, a necessary command over that cumbersome weapon, the spear. If to these personal qualifications, a woman superadded unshaken courage, a mind quick of perception, fertile in resources and sanguine in resolve; what but experience could be wanting to complete the military character? that advantage most of her cotemporary commanders possessed, conjoined with bravery and skill; yet with all their bravery, they could not inspire their troops; with all their skill, they were repeatedly beaten!

In arts and sciences requiring no ordinary judgment, how often has a heaven-born faculty, unassisted, left tuition far behind, and obtained celebrity, if not perfection. What was there at that time in the art of war, so abstruse, so superior to other attainments, as to nullify the operation of intuitive faculties. So lately as in the seventeenth century, a singular instance of this inherent faculty occurs in the usurper Cromwell, of whom Mrs. Macaulay says, "Notwithstanding that perfection in the science of war to which he attained, he was upwards of forty when he commenced

soldier; a circumstance not to be forgotten, as it is the only splendid part of his character." Be it remembered likewise, that military tactics had then become more complex; but Cromwell blended the enthusiast with the man of the world, and his followers were enthusiasts too.

I would by no means infer, that Joan started up at once to the perfections of a general, competent to the sole command of armies; but that she was admirably gifted with talents for war, and a capacity for wholesome counsels, that she had zeal to supply her deficiencies, and prudence to temper her zeal. A residence of three or four years in novel society, where national affairs must have afforded an inexhaustible theme for dicussion, could not have been lost upon a mind of any discernment.

Dunois, so high on the lists of fame, was not above four of five and twenty years of age, and D'Alençon a year younger, when Joan first joined the forces; yet many years after her death, when time and experience had matured their judgment, they both gave liberal testimony to her beneficial ascen-

dancy in the field. And it is hardly to be imagined, that two such illustrious men should wilfully, publicly, and needlessly perjure themselves, while numbers still lived, to know the truth or falsehood of their assertions. They leave no room whatever to suppose that she had been played off as a kind of military automaton.

Dunois had acquired so much additional glory since the loss of his unfortunate comrade, that so far from needing to arrogate the merits of another, we find him doing them justice at his own expence, and pointing out one instance in particular, where success was owing to her superior perseverance, after he had meditated a retreat. In fine, if we agree that without the experience of generals, and aid of troops, Joan could have done nothing, it is but fair to ask likewise, what they had effected towards the salvation of their country, before she appeared among them.

At the same time, those distinguished commanders claim the admiration of posterity, for their loyalty, valour and exertions; more especially for that patriotism which

caused them to cast much of their prejudice and pride, as a dead weight into the preponderating scale; though history presumes that some of them retained enough to create envy and jealousy of the fame, which began to surpass their own.

Lastly, a soaring and peculiar spirit, is visible in the nature as well as magnitude of her views, undertakings, and promises. The crown of France was at its last stake, little remained to lose, every thing to gain. Continually hearing how much depended on the siege of Orleans, she began to think its rescue possible, till religious enthusiasm made it certain. In a mind so constituted, the transition from this certainty, to what should be the next step, after its accomplishment, was easy and natural.

Charles had been crowned at Poictiers, but after a manner comparatively mean, unattended by all the usual formalities. Most of his superstitious subjects, must have considered him as scarcely half a king, when anointed beyond the walls of Rheims, and without the assistance of the holy phial. No common mind would have caught at

the expedient of strengthening his cause, by repeating the ceremony with added solemnity.

If to save Orleans appeared possible, to reach Rheims would seem possible too, nor could she then know half the difficulties attending it. When once a sanguine imagination foresaw those objects attained, it was not likely to rest there, without lengthening its excursive flights to successive victories, the metropolis of France recovered from its enemies, and finally those enemies driven home. Each presumption rise in a natural succession, each receives its due contemplation, till at length reiterated wishes, prayers, and abstractions, in visions and impulses take a form divine.

Faith once firmly settled as to their result, the heart and mind, and soul, fasten on the means. She who expected so much, neglected nothing. We see this in her restlessness at Orleans, in her constant watch over every symptom of the king's vacillation, in her ardours at the siege of Paris, and elsewhere, after she supposed her own particular mission accomplished. Actuated by

a boundless confidence in Heaven's presiding aid, she could not have been without some confidence in her own proceedings; requiring the co-operation of others, she is nevertheless more than once seen acting against combined opinions, as well knowing when to lead, and when to follow. Shall we then allow genius wherewith to originate enterprize, and none to execute? or shall we deem that spirit which outlived the hour of success, and bore with unabated dignity, misfortune's train, as nothing more than a wild fanaticism? Enthusiasm, without any other support than itself, only resembles the waxen wings of Icarus It must be formed of purer elements, to turn that 'tide in the affairs of men,' which springs from human error.

Thus I have deduced from historical facts, those causes and conclusions, which appear to me the most probable. The merits and glories of Joan, though extraordinary, are neither marvellous nor unnatural, and after all, may perhaps be best summed up in this one simple fact, she promised nothing that was not eventually performed!

APPENDIX.

I.

JOAN'S LETTER TO THE ENGLISH.

Jesus Maria.

KING of England, and you duke of Betfort,[1] who style yourself regent of France, you William de la Poule, earl of Suffort,[2] John, lord Tallebot,[3] and you Thomas lord Esclaves,[4] who style yourself lieutenant of the said duke of Bedfort, make atonement to the king of Heaven;[5] restore to the king, the things of all the good towns you have taken and violated in France. She (J. la Pucelle) is hither come in the name of

(1) Duke of Bedford.

(2) William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk.

(3) John, lord Talbot.

(4) Thomas, lord Scales.

(5) This part had been falsified upon her trial, by inserting these words, "Restore to the maid who is hither sent by God, the king of Heaven."

God, to restore the royal blood; she is all ready to make peace, if you will make her satisfaction forasmuch as you put France low, and shall repay what you have held: and among you, archers, honest comrades in war, and others who are before the city of Orleans, in God's name, go your ways into your own country; and if you do not, look for news of the maid, who will shortly come to see you to your very great grievance. King of England if you do not thus,(1) in whatever place I shall meet your people in France, I will make them go, willing or not willing, and if they will not obey, I shall cause them all to be slain. I am sent in the name of God, the king of Heaven,(2) to put you out of all France; and if they will obey, I shall take mercy on them; and be not obstinate, for you shall not hold the kingdom of France, but God the king of Heaven, son of St. Mary, will uphold the true inhe-

(1) Here they had inserted the words, "I am chief of war."

(2) In this place they had added, "Body for body." F.

This and the two following letters were taken by M. du Fresnoy, in the original French, from a MS. then in the possession of Monseigneur the cardinal de Rohan.

ritor king Charles; for God the king of Heaven wills it, and it is revealed to him by the maid, that he shall enter Paris in good company: if you will not believe this intelligence from God, and the maid, in whatever place we find you, we will strike therein, and make there such a great shout, that for a thousand years there has been none so great in France; and if you do not make restitution, and believe firmly that God the king of Heaven will send more might to the maid, and that you will be carried in all assaults of her and her good soldiers, and at heavy blows it shall be seen, who has most right from the heavenly king. You duke of Bedford, the maid prays and requires not to work your own destruction; if you do her justice you may yet come in her company, where the French will do the finest feat that was ever done in Christendom: and make answer, whether you will make peace in the city of Orleans, and if you do not, to your great damage I may remember you shortly.

Written this Saturday in holy week.

II.

LETTER FROM JOHN, COUNT D'ARMAGNAC, AT THE COURT OF ARRAGON, TO JOAN THE MAID.

My very dear lady,

I humbly commend me to you, and supplicate you for God's sake, on account of the division which is at present in the holy church universal, concerning the popes, for there are three disputants of the papacy. One resides at Rome, who styles himself, Martin V. to whom all our christian kings obey. The other lives at Paniscelles in the kingdom of Valencia, who styles himself pope Clement VII. The third, none know where he resides, (save only the cardinal de St.Etienne, and a few with him), who calls himself pope Benedict XIV. The first who styles himself pope Martin, has been elected at Constance, with the consent of all christian

nations. He who calls himself Clement, was elected at Paniscelles, after the death of pope Benedict XIII. by three of his cardinals. The third, who names himself pope Benedict XIV. at Paniscelles was elected secretly, by the cardinal de St. Etienne. May you be willing to supplicate our Lord Jesus Christ, that by his infinite mercy, he will through you declare to us whom of the three above-mentioned is true pope, and to whom it shall please him that we obey. As heretofore? or to him who calls himself Benedict? or to him who calls himself Clement? and whom we ought to believe; whether secretly, or by any dissimulation, or public, or manifest. For we shall be all ready to do the will and pleasure of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The whole.—

Your count d'Armignac.

III.

ANSWER FROM JOAN TO THE COUNT.[1]

Jesus ✝ Maria.

Count d'Armignac, my very dear and good friend.

Joan the maid, lets you know that your letter has reached me, which has told me that you have sent it hitherward, to know of me whom of the three popes written by letter, you ought to believe. Of which thing for certain, I cannot well inform you at present; until I may be at Paris, or elsewhere at rest, for I am at present too much taken up with concerns of war; but when you shall know me to be

(1) There is no reason to doubt the authenticity or correctness of the count's letter; but when this answer was read to Joan on her trial, she asserted that it had been altered, for she obeyed the pope then resident at Rome, and her answer by the count's messenger had been to that effect.

at Paris, send a message to me, and I will let you know for certain, whom you ought to believe; and which you shall have known, by the council of my sovereign lord the king of all the world, and as you shall have need, to my utmost power.

I commend you to God.—God preserve you!

Written at Compiegne, this 22d day of August, 1429.

IV.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER SENT BY THE REGENT, JOHN, DUKE OF BEDFORD, TO THE KING AND COUNCIL OF ENGLAND.

"ALLE thing there prospered for you, til the time of the siege of Orleans taken in hand God knoweth by what advis. At the whiche time, after the adventure fallen to the persone of my cousin of Salysbury, whom God assoile, there felle by the hand of God, as it seemeth, a great strook upon your peuple, that was assembled there in grete nombre, caused in grete partie as y trowe, of lakke of sadde belive, and of unlevefulle doubte, that thei hadde of a disciple and lyme of the fiend, called the Pucelle; that used fals enchauntments and sorcerie, the which strooke and discomfiture nought oonly lessed in grete partie, the nombre of your peuple there, but as well withdrowe the courage of the remenant, in merveilous wyse, and couraiged your advers partie and enemy's."

Rym: Fœd: vol 10, p. 403.

V.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER WRITTEN BY LORD SALISBURY TO KING HENRY V. A.D. 1421.

(Inserted as contrast to the preceding.)

"My most hy and sourein lord, I zour humble liege man, rekomaunde me to zour hy and noble grace, as lowly as any creature may devyse or thinke.

And zif hit like zour hynesse to know of tidings from this partie of zour lond, blessed be God, at the writinge of this, hit stod in good plit and neur so well as now; for thanked be God, zour liege peuple here dredde neur lasse, zour enemye thanne they don at this day, and all the capteines here don well her dilligence, as well in seur kepinge of her places as in sturing and enoying of zour enemyes.

And liketh zour hinesse to wite that the

Saterday afore the date of this,[1] I zour humble liege man, com hom from a journe, woch I hadde mad into Aungou and Mayne; whereas I hadd assemblid with me gret part of the Capteines of zour lond: and blessed be God, wee spedde right well, for zour peuple is gretly refreshed with this rood; for as they sein in commune, they wouier neure more in no such roode.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

And trewly my most hy and sourein lord, we were afore diverse places, that what time hit liketh zow to sette on them, or to commaunde any other man to sette on hem, they be nat able with Goddes grace to holde ajenst zou no while.

And trewly sir, zif it liked zour grace to commaund me to sture aghwere in recouringe of any thing, now I have rested many a day I am full redy thereto," &c. &c.

Rym: Fœd: vol. 10. p. 131.

(1) Dated "Argenthen, the 21st day of June,"

VI.

LETTER FROM JOHN, DUKE OF BEDFORD TO CHARLES VII.

We John of Lancaster, regent of France, and duke of Bedford, make known to you, Charles de Valois, who were wont to style yourself dauphin of Vienne, but at present without cause call yourself king, for wrongfully do you make attempts against the crown and dominion of the very high, most excellent, and renowned prince Henry, by the grace of God, true and natural lord of the kingdoms of France and England; deceiving the simple people by your telling them you come to give peace and security, which is not the fact, nor can it be done by the means you have pursued, and are now following to seduce and abuse ignorant people, with the aid of superstitious and damnable persons, such as a woman of a disorderly and infamous life, and dissolute manners,

dressed in the clothes of a man, together with an apostate and seditious mendicant friar, as we have been informed,[1] both of whom are according to holy scripture abominable in the sight of God.

You have also gained possession, by force of arms, of the country of Champagne, and of several towns and castles appertaining to my said lord the king, the inhabitants of which you have induced to perjure themselves by breaking the peace, which had been most solemnly sworn to by the then kings of France and England, the great barons, peers, prelates, and three estates of the realm.

We to defend and guard the right of our said lord the king, and to repulse you from his territories, by the aid of the All-powerful, have taken the field in person, and with the means God has given us, as you may have heard, shall pursue you from place to place,

(1) The saving clause—"*As we have been informed*"—was very well tacked to the above general accusation, since not all the partiality and prejudice of her first trial could bring the shadow of support to so vague a charge; a circumstance plainly evinced by the manifesto preserved in Monstrelet.

in the hope of meeting you, which we have never yet done.

As we most earnestly and heartily desire a final end to the war, we summon and require of you, if you be a prince desirous of gaining honour, to take compassion on the poor people, who have on your account been so long and so grievously harassed, that an end may be put to their afflictions, by terminating this war. Choose, therefore in this country of Brie, where we both are, and not very distant from each other, any competent place for us to meet, and having fixed on a day, appear there with the abandoned woman, the apostate monk, and all your perjured allies, and such force as you may please to bring, when we will, with God's pleasure, personally meet you in the name and as the representative of my lord the king. Should it then please you to make any proposals respecting peace, we will do every thing that may be expected from a catholic prince; for we are always inclined to conclude a solid peace, not such a false and treacherous one as that of Montereau-faut Yonne, when through your connivance,

that most horrid and disgraceful murder was committed, contrary to every law of chivalry and honour, on the person of our late and very dear and well-beloved father, duke John, of Burgundy, whose soul may God receive!

By means of this peace, so wickedly violated by you, upwards of one hundred nobles have deserted your realm, as may be clearly shewn, by the letters patent under your hand and seal, by which you have absolutely and unreservedly acquitted them of every oath of loyalty, fealty and subjection. However, if from the iniquity and malice of mankind, peace cannot be obtained, we may each of us then with our swords defend the cause of our quarrel before God, as our judge, and to whom and to none other will my said lord refer it. We therefore most humbly supplicate the Almighty, as knowing the right of my lord in this matter, that he would dispose the hearts of this people so that they may remain in peace, without further oppressions; and such ought to be the object of all christian kings and princes, in regard to

their subjects. We therefore, without using more arguments, or longer delay, make known our proposals to you, which should you refuse, and should further murders and mischiefs be through your fault committed, by a continuation of the war, we call God to witness, and protest before him and the world, that we are no way the cause, and that we have done and do our duty. We therefore profess our willingness to consent to a solid and reasonable peace, and should that be rejected, then to resort to open combat, becoming princes, when no other means can accommodate their differences. In testimony whereof, we have had these presents sealed with our seal.

Given at Montereau-faut-Yonne, the 7th day of August, in the year of grace, 1429. Signed by my lord the regent of France and duke of Bedford.

(From Johne's Monstrelet.)

VII.

LETTER OF INDEMNITY AND PROTECTION GRANTED BY THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT TO PETER CAUCHON, BISHOP OF BEAUVAIS, AND OTHERS, FOR THE EXECUTION OF JOAN.

HENRY, by the grace of God, king of France and England, to all to whom these presents shall come greeting.

Whereas, some time since, we have been required and exhorted by our very dear and well-beloved daughter, the university of Paris, that a woman who caused herself to be styled Joan, the maid, who had been taken in arms by certain of our subjects, in the diocese of Beauvais, within the bounds of the episcopal jurisdiction of the said diocese, and this woman was surrendered, given and delivered up to the church, as vehemently suspected, renowned, and notoriously defamed of having said, propagated, and pub-

lished in divers parts and countries of our said kingdom of France, many great errors, committed and perpetrated excesses, execrable crimes, and many enormous offences against our holy catholic faith, and to the great scandal of all christian people; we have been also required and summoned very justly, and at sundry times by our well-beloved and trusty counsellor, the bishop of Beauvais, customary judge of this woman, that we should surrender and deliver up the same to be by him, as her judge, corrected and punished, in case that by trial, duly and lawfully made, she should be found charged and polluted with the said errors, crimes, excesses, and offences, or any of them: and we, as a true catholic and son of the church, in following our predecessors, king of France and England, unwilling to do what was, or might be prejudicial, in any manner to the holy inquisition of our holy faith, or to stay the same; but desiring the same holy inquisition, to be preferred to all other means of justice, secular and temporal, to render to every one their due; have to our said counsellor, customary judge, as aforesaid, caused to be given and delivered up

the said woman, to inquire into the said errors, crimes, excesses, and offences, and to do justice as should of right thereunto belong. To whom our said counsellor, joined with him the vicar of the inquisitor of the faith, (that inquisitor absent,) having together made their inquiry and process upon such errors, crimes, excesses, and offences, so that by definitive sentence, finally they put this woman out of their hands, and abandoned to our secular court and justice, as relapsed, into the said errors, crimes, excesses, and offences, after certain abjuration by her publicly made; as all these things may more plainly appear from the said process; by which our secular court and justice have condemned the said woman to be burnt, consumed with fire, and thus executed.

And forasmuch as, peradventure, some who might have had in approval, the witchcrafts and errors of the said Joan, and others who unduly endeavour or would endeavour through hatred, revenge, or anywise to impede the true judgements of our holy mother the church, to cite before our holy father the pope, the holy general

council, or elsewhere, the said reverend father in God, vicar, doctors, or others, who have assisted at the said process, we, as protector or defender of our holy catholic faith, will uphold, support, and defend the said judges, doctors, masters, clerks, proctor, lawyers, counsellors, notaries, and all others who have assisted at the said process, in whatsoever manner, in all that they have said and pronounced, in all and every the things touching and concerning the said process, its circumstances, and dependancies. To the end that henceforth all other judges, doctors, and others, may be more ready, attentive, and encouraged to consent and apply themselves without fear or dread, to the extirpation of errors, and false dogmas, which in divers parts of christendom, increase and multiply at this present time; and which with grief we recite.

Moreover, we are duly informed, that the said process has been done and conducted maturely, and canonically, justly, and holily; upon this, and upon the subject of this process, the deliberation had of our very dear and well-beloved daughter the

university of Paris, of doctors and masters in the faculties of theology, and of divine and canonical statutes, and other churchmen in great number, the which, or the greatest part of which, have continually assistedand been present with the said judges, doctors, masters, clerks, proctor, lawyers, counsellors, notaries, and others who have laboured at, attended to, and heard the said process; should they from the said process, or its dependancies, be cited before our holy father the pope, the said holy council general, or the clerks and deputies of him our said holy father, of the said holy council, or otherwise; we do aid and defend, and will cause to be aided and defended in judgement and out, all the said judges, doctors, masters, clerks, proctor, lawyers, notaries, and others, and each of them, at our own proper costs and charges, and at their need, in this behalf. We for the honour and reverence of God, and our holy mother the church, and defence of our said holy faith, will adjoin to the process whatever persons would enter against them, of what station they may be, in what manner it may be,

and we will pursue the cause in all cases and terms of right and reason, at our expense

Moreover, we give in commandment to all our ambassadors, and messengers, as well of our blood and lineage, as to others who should be in the court of Rome, and at the said holy council general; and to all bishops, prelates, doctors, masters, clerks, proctors, lawyers, counsellors, notaries, and others, where any of them shall be put or drawn into suit before our said holy father, the said holy council, or other parts, that they adjoin themselves immediately, for, and in our name, to the cause and defence of the aforesaid, by all ways and means canonical and lawful; and we require our subjects of the said kingdoms, being at that time there, and also those of kings, princes, and lords, to us allied and confederate, that they give in this manner, council, favour, help, and assistance, by all ways and means possible to them, without delays or difficulties, whatsoever.

In witness whereof, we have caused to

be affixed our seal, appointed in absence of the great seal, to these presents.

Given at Rouen, the XIIth day of June, in the year of Grace, one thousand, four hundred, XXXI. and the ninth of our reign.

By the king in assent to the great council near him, at which were monsieur the cardinal of England, all the bishops of Beauvais, of Noyon, and of Norwich, the earls of Warwick, and Stafford, the abbots of Feschamp, and of Mount St. Michael, the lords Cromwell, Tiptoft, &c. &c.

(L. S.) CALOT.

Taken from the MS. process of justification. F.

VIII.

MANIFESTO OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, IN THE NAME OF HENRY VI. RESPECTING JOAN OF ARC'S EXECUTION.

Most dear and well beloved uncle, the very fervent love we know you to bear as a true catholic to our holy mother the church, and your zeal for the exaltation of the faith, induces us to signify to you by writing, that in honour of the above, an act has lately taken place at Rouen, which will tend, as we hope, to the strengthening of the catholic faith, and the extirpation of pestilential heresies.

It is well known, from common report, and otherwise, that the woman, erroneously called the maid, has, for upwards of two years, contrary to the divine law, and to the decency becoming her sex, worn the dress of a man, a thing abominable before

God; and in this state she joined our adversary and your's, giving him, as well as those of his party, churchmen and nobles, to understand that she was sent as a messenger from Heaven; and presumptuously vaunting that she had personal and visible communications with St. Michael, and with a multitude of angels and saints in paradise, such as St. Catherine and St. Margaret. By these falsehoods, and by promising future victories, she has estranged the minds of persons of both sexes from the truth, and induced them to the belief of dangerous errors.

She clothed herself in armour also, assisted by knights and esquires, and raised a banner, on which, through excess of pride and presumption, she demanded to bear the noble and excellent arms of France, which in part she obtained. These she displayed at many conflicts and sieges; and they consisted of a shield having two flower de luces, or, on a field, azure, with a pointed sword, surmounted with a crown, proper.

In this state she took the field, with large companies of men at arms and archers, to exercise her inhuman cruelties by shedding

christian blood, and stirring up seditions and rebellions of the common people. She encouraged perjuries, superstitions and false doctrines, by permitting herself to be reverenced and honoured as a holy woman, and in various other manners that would be too long to detail, but which have greatly scandalized all christendom wherever they have been known.

But divine mercy having taken pity on a loyal people, and being no longer willing to suffer them to remain under such vain errors and credulities, permitted that this woman should be made prisoner by your army, when besieging Compiégne, and through your affection she was transferred to our power.

On this being known, she was claimed by the bishop in whose diocese she was taken; and as she had been guilty of the highest treason to the divine majesty, we delivered her up to be tried and punished by the usual ecclesiastical judges, not only from respect to our holy mother the church, whose ordinances we shall ever prefer to our own, but also for the exaltation of our faith.

We were unwilling that the officers of our secular justice should take cognizance of the crime, although it was perfectly lawful for us so to do, considering the great mischiefs, murders, and detestable cruelties she has committed against our sovereignty, and on a loyal obedient people.

The bishop having called to his aid in this matter the vicar of the inquisitor of errors and heresies in the faith, with many able doctors in theology and in canon law, commenced with much solemnity and gravity the trial of the said Joan. After these judges had for several days interrogated her on her crimes, and had maturely considered her confessions and answers, they sent them for the opinion of our beloved daughter the university of Paris, when they all determined that this Joan was superstitious, a sorceress of the devil, a blasphemer of God and of his saints, a schismatic, and guilty of many errors against the faith of Jesus Christ.

To recal her to the universal faith of our holy church, to purge her from her pernicious errors, and to save her soul from perpetual damnation, and to induce her to

return to the way of truth, she was long and frequently charitably preached to; but that dangerous and obstinate spirit of pride and presumption, which is alway endeavouring to prevent the unity and safety of christians, held the said Joan so fast bound, that no arguments nor exhortations could soften the hardness of her heart, so that she boasted that all which she had done was meritorious, and that it had been done by the command of God and the aforesaid holy virgins, who had personally appeared to her. But what was worse, she refused to acknowledge any power on earth but God and his saints, denying the authority of our holy father, the pope, and of the general councils of the universal church militant.

The ecclesiastical judges witnessing her obstinacy and hardness of heart, had her brought forth before the people, who, with the clergy, were assembled in great numbers, when she was again preached to by an able divine. Having been plainly warned of the doctrines of our holy religion, and the consequences of heresies and erroneous opinions, concerning it to the welfare of man-

kind, she was charitably admonished to make her peace with the church, and renounce her errors, but she remained as obstinate as before.

The judges having considered her conduct, proceeded to pronounce sentence upon her, according to the heinousness of her crimes; but before it was read, her courage seemed to fail her, and she said she was willing to return to the church. This was heard with pleasure by the judges, clergy, and spectators, who received her kindly, hoping by this means to preserve her soul from perdition.

She now submitted herself to the ordinances of the church, and publicly renounced and abjured her detestable crimes, signing with her own hand the schedule of her recantation, and abjuration. Thus was our merciful mother the church, rejoiced at the sinner doing penance, anxious to recover the lost sheep that had wandered in the desert. Joan was ordered to perform her penance in close confinement.

But these good dispositions did not last long; for her presumptuous pride seemed to

have acquired greater force than before, and she relapsed, with the utmost obstinacy, into all those errors which she had publicly renounced. For this cause, and that she might not contaminate the sound members of our holy communion, she was again publicly preached to, and proving obstinate, she was delivered over to the secular arm, who instantly condemned her to be burnt. Seeing her end approach, she fully acknowledged and confessed that the spirits which had appeared to her, were often lying and wicked ones; that the promises they had made to set her at liberty were false, and that she had been deceived and mocked by them.

She was publicly led to the old market-place, in Rouen, and there burnt in the presence of the people!

(From Johne's Monstrelet.)

IX.

LETTERS PATENT OF KING CHARLES VII. TO ESTABLISH A COMMISSION FOR THE PURPOSE OF REVIEWING THE CONDEMNATORY PROCESS OF THE MAID OF ORLEANS.

CHARLES by the grace of God, king of France. To our well-beloved and trusty counsellor, master William de Bouillé doctor in theology, greeting and affection.

As afore-time, Joan the maid had been taken and seized by our ancient enemies and adversaries, the English, and brought into this city of Rouen; against whom they caused such and such process to be entered, by certain persons thereto appointed and deputed by them; in carrying on which process, they may and might have done and committed many faults and errors, so that for the said process, and the great hatred which our said enemies had against her, they put her to death, unjustly, against reason, very

cruelly; and because that we will know the truth of the said process, and the manner in which it has been deduced and carried on. We advise, command, and expressly enjoin you, that you inquire and inform yourself, well and diligently upon the aforesaid, and the information by you gained thereupon, bring or send firmly closed, and sealed towards us, and the members of our great council; and with it, all those whom you shall know to have any writings, process, or other things touching the subject. Compel them by all due means, and as you shall see fit, to deliver them to you, to report or send them to us; that we may be able to act thereupon, as we shall see necessary, and as shall thereto of reason belong. To do this, we give you by these presents, authority, commission, and especial mandate. We order and command our officers, judges, and subjects, that to you, and your clerks, and deputies in so doing, they hearken and obey diligently.

Given at Rouen, the fifteenth day of February, the year of grace, one thousand four hundred and forty-nine,[1] and the

(1) 1450, N. S.

twenty-eighth of our reign. Signed according by the king in advice with the great council.

DANIEL.

Taken from the MS. of M. the cardinal de Rohan, by M. du Fresnoy.

X.

LETTER FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF RHEIMS, TO THE SIEUR DAULON.

To my very dear lord and brother, messire John Daulon, counsellor to the king, and seneschal of Beaucaire.

Very dear lord and brother,

To my utmost I commend me to you, and it is true that when I was about the king at St Porsain, I wrote you of the process entered into by the English, against Joan the maid; by which they would maintain, that she had been a sorceress and heretic, and invoker of demons, and that by this means, the king had recovered his kingdom; and likewise they deemed the king, and those who have served him hereticks. And forasmuch as of her life, and conversation, and conduct you know well and entirely; I entreat that what you know

thereof, you will send in writing, signed by two apostolical notaries, and by an inquisitor of the faith, for I have received bulls hither to revoke all that the enemy have done, touching the said process.

Written at Paris, this 20th day of April, 1456.

Signed.—Archbishop and duke of Rheims.

Taken from the process of justification, towards the conclusion. F.

XI.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF WITNESSES EXAMINED UPON OATH, AT ROUEN, PARIS, ORLEANS, AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF DOMREMY, DURING THE PROCESS OF JOAN'S JUSTIFICATION.

A.

1. The high and puissant lord, John duke d'Alençon, prince of the blood, aged 50 years.—The 3d of May, 1456.(1)
2. The noble Theobald d'Armagnac, called de Termes, bailiff of Chartres, aged 50.
3. John Aubert, aged 52.—The 19th of March, 1456.

B.

4. Messire John Barbin, king's counsel at the parliament of Paris, aged 50.—The 30th of April, 1456.

(1) The dates, &c. to each name, express the time or place of their respective depositions. The three depositions marked with an asterisk, are not recorded in the process of justification; because they were taken only by virtue of the king's letters patent in 1450, and not under the ecclesiastical commission.

5. Master Simon de Beaucroix, an esquire, aged 50.(1)—The 20th of April, 1456.
6. John Beauharnois, aged 50.—Orleans, 1456.
7. Petronilla, his wife, aged 50.—The same place and date.
8. Master John Beaupére, canon of Rouen.—The 5th of March, 1450.*
9. Andrew Bordes, canon of St. Aignan, aged 60.—Orleans, 1456.
10. Joan, the wife of Guy Boileave, aged 60.—The same place and date.
11. William Colles de Bois guillaume, one of the apostolical notaries, aged 66.—The 18th of December, 1455, and the 13th of May, 1456.
12. Master Peter Boucher, priest and rector of Bourgeau, in the diocese of Lisieux, aged 55.—The 8th of May, 1452.
13. Hervé Bruart, prior of St Magloire, aged 60.—Orleans, 1456.
14. Michael le Buin, born at Domremy, and a labourer at Burey, in the diocese of Toul, aged 40.—Vaucouleurs, the 31st of January, 1445.

(1) This witness, proves almost all her expedition, or conduct of the convoy from Blois to Orleans. F.

C.

15. Messire Simon Charles, president in the chamber of accounts at Paris, and formerly ambassador to the Republick of Venice, aged 60.—The 7th of May, 1456.
16. Messire Lewis deComtes, lord of Novion, an esquire, aged 42.(1)—The 3d of April, 1456.
17. Master Thomas de Courcelles, canon and Penitentiary of the church of Paris, aged 56.(2)—The 15th of January, 1456.
18. Master Nicholas Caval, priest and canon of the metropolitan church of Rouen, aged 70.—Rouen the 19th of December, 1455, and 12th of May, 1456.
19. Master Peter de la Censure, priest, canon, and provost of the church of St. Aignan, aged 60.—Orleans, 1456.
20. Master Peter Compaign, priest and vestry-keeper of the church of St. Aignan, aged 55.—Same place and year.

(1) He was one of the officers appointed by the king, to attend her; and from his years, most likely one of her pages.

(2) He was one of the judges, who himself marks all the nullities of her first trial, and translated it from French into Latin. F.

21, Master William de la Chambre, physician, aged 48.—The 2d of April, 1456.

22. Master John Colin, rector of the parish of Domremy, and canon of Bricy, aged 66.—Domremy, the 30th of January, 1455.

23. —— Collin, son to John Collin, of Greux, labourer, aged 50. The same time and place.

24. Peter Cusquel, citizen of Rouen, aged 55.—The 3d and 9th of May, 1452.

25. John Carrelier, aged 44.—Orleans, 1456.

26. William Charron, aged 64.—Same place and date.

27. John de Champeaux, aged 50.—Same place and date.

28. John Coulon, aged 56.—Same place and date.

29. Guillemette, his wife, aged 50.—Same place and date

D.

30. The puissant lord, John count de Dunois and de Longueville, lieutenant-general of the king's armies, aged 51.—Orleans, 22d February, 1456.

31. Messire John Daulon or Dolon, senes-

chal of Beaucaire, and counsellor to the king.[1]—Rouen, 28th May, 1456.

32. Messire Lewis Duhan, an esquire, lord of Martigney, aged 56.—Domremy, 29th January, 1456.

33. Master Peter Davon, lieutenant to the bailiff of Rouen, aged 60.—Rouen, 3d May, 1456.

34. Master William du Desert, canon of the metropolitan church of Rouen, aged 52.—8th May, 1452.

35. William Duval, of the order of Friars-preachers.—5th March, 1450.*

E.

36. Beatrice Estellin, widow, inhabitant of Domremy, aged 80.—Domremy, 29th January, 1455.

F.

37. The reverend father John Fabri, bishop of Demetriade, of the Augustine order, professor of divinity to the convent of his order at Rouen, aged 76.—Rouen, 9th, and 12th May, 1456.

(1) He was appointed by the king, comptroller of her establishment.

38. The noble Geoffry Fago, an esquire, aged 50.—Vaucouleurs, 31st January, 1455.
39. Master John Fane, master of requests to the king, aged 45.—9th May, 1456.
40. Master John le Fumeux, priest and canon of the church or chapel of Nôtre Dame de Vaucouleurs, and rector of Vigney, aged 38.—Toul, 7th February, 1455.
41. Massée, the wife of Henry Fayon, aged 50.—Orleans, 1456.

G.

42. Messire John de Gaucourt, grand master of the king's household, aged 85.—Orleans, 25th February, 1456.
43. Francis Garmet, financier-general, aged 40.—Same place, 7th March, 1456.
44. Master Richard de Gronchet, priest and canon in the diocese of Evreux, aged 60.—9th May, 1452.
45. Ralph Godart, priest and canon of St. Aignan, aged 55.—Orleans, 1456.
46. Lawrence Guidon, citizen of Rouen.—Rouen, 12th May, 1456.

47. Gentian Gabu, aged 56.—Orleans, 1456.
48. Gerard Guillemote, a labourer living at Greux, aged 40.—Vaucouleurs, 30th January, 1456.

H.

49. Master Nicholas de Houppeville, bachelor of divinity, of the diocese of Rouen, aged 60.[1]—Rouen, 8th May, 1452, and 13th of May, 1456.
50. John Hilaire, aged 66.—Orleans, 19th March, 1456.
51. Peter Hue, aged 50.—Same place and year.
52. Charlotte, the wife of William Havet.—Same place and year.
53. Regnaudine, the widow of John Huré, aged 50.—Same time and place.
54. Henri, a wheelwright of Vaucouleurs, aged 64.—Vaucouleurs, 31st January, 1455.
55. Catherine, his wife, aged 54.[2]—Same time and place.

(1) He had been chosen one of her judges, but was obliged to absent himself, on account of some remonstrances he had made. F.

(2) With this couple she lodged during her stay at Vaucouleurs, in the beginning of 1429.

I. and J.

56. William Jacqueri, of Andelot, sergeant royal, aged 36.—Toul, 6th February, 1455.
57. James Dominick Jacob, rector of the parish of Moncel, in the diocese of Toul, aged 35.—29th January, 1455.
58. Peter Irugault, aged 50.—Orleans, 1456.
59. John Jacquart, a labourer at Greux, near Domremy, aged 47.—Toul, 11th February, 1455,
60. Meugette, the wife of John Joyart, labourer at Domremy, aged 46.—30th January, 1455.

L.

61. Durant Lappart, of Burey, aged 60.[1]—Vaucouleurs, 31st January, 1455.
62. Martin Ladvenue, a friar of the Domican order, and lecturer in divinity, aged 55,[2]—9th May, 1452, 18th of December, 1455, and the 13th of May, 1456.
63. Father John Leveseuil, a priest of the

(1) That uncle, who accompanied her three times to Vaucouleurs, and presented her to the duke of Lorrain.

(2) He received her confessions, administered the sacrament, and attended her to the place of execution.

Celestine order, aged 45.—7th of May, 1456.

64. John Luillier, citizen of Orleans, aged 56.—Orleans, 19th of March, 1456.

65. Bertram Lacloppe, a master tiler at Domremy, aged 90.—29th of January, 1455.

66. James Lesbahi, aged 50.—Orleans, 1456.

M.

67. The reverend father in God, John de Mailly, bishop of Noyon, aged 60.—14th of January, 1456.

68. The sieur Haymond, an esquire, lord of Macy, aged 56.—Paris, 1456.

69. William Manchon, rector of St. Nicholas in the city of Rouen, and apostolical notary of the archbishoprick, aged 58.(1)—The 2d and 8th of May, 1452, 17th of December, 1455, and the 14th of May, 1456.

70. John Massieu, rector of St. Candidus at Rouen, aged 55.(2)—The 8th of May, 1452, and the 17th of December, 1455.

(1) He was principal secretary in the first process.

(1) Was one of those who accompanied her to the place of execution.

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71. Peter Miger, prior of Longueville in the diocese of Rouen, of the Benedictine order, aged 70.—The 2d and 9th of May, 1452. and the 11th of May, 1456.

72. Master Andrew Marquerie, priest and archdeacon of petit-Calais, in the church of Rouen, aged 66.—Rouen, the 19th of December, 1455, and the 12th of May, 1456.

73. Don Thomas Marie, priest and prior of St. Michael at Rouen, of the Benedictine order, aged 62.— 9th of May, 1455.

74. Master John Monnet, canon of the church of Paris, and professor in theology, aged 50.—The 3d of April, 1456.

75. Peter Millet, registrar of the election of Paris, aged 72.—Paris, 11th of May, 1456.

76. Collette, his wife, aged 50.—Same time and place.

77. John le Maire, rector of St. Vincent at Rouen, aged 45.—Rouen, the 19th of December, 1455, and the 12th of May, 1456.

78. Martin Maubourdet, aged 57.—Orleans, 1456.

79. Aignan de St. Memmain, aged 87.—Same time and place.

80. Giles de St. Memmain, aged 76.—Orleans, 1456.

81. Joan, his wife, aged 70.—The same place and year.

82. Joan, the widow of John de Mouchy, aged 50.—The same time and place.

83. John Marchel, citizen of Paris, aged 56.—The 30th of April, 1456.

84. John Morel, a labourer living at Greu, near Domremy, aged 70.—Domremy, the 28th of January, 1455.

85. John Moen, born at Domremy, but living at Corprei, in the diocese of Toul, by trade a wheelwright, aged 56.—Domremy, the 29th of January, same year.

86. Simonin Musnier, a labourer of Domremy, aged 44.—The 30th of January, same year.

87. Hudson le Maitre, born near Domremy, but living at Rouen, and by trade a brazier, aged 58.—Rouen, the 11th of May, 1456.

N.

88. The noble John de Novelempont, called

de Metz, residing at Vaucouleurs, aged 57.[1]—Vaucouleurs, the 31st of January, 1455.

89. The honourable Nicholas, bailiff of Andelot, in the diocese of Langres, notary royal, aged 60.—Toul, the 6th of February, 1455.

P.

90. The noble Bertram de Polengi, esquire or equerry to Charles VII. king of France, aged 63.[2]—Toul, the 6th of February, 1455.

91. Isambert de la Pierre, of the Dominican order, aged 60.—The 9th of May, 1452.

92. Baldwin de la Pierre, of the same order, aged 55.—The 3d of May, 1452.

93. John Pasquerel, of the Augustine order.[3]—The 4th of May, 1456.

94. —— Perrin, a draper residing at Domremy, aged 60.—29th of January, 1455.

95 William Postien, aged 44.—Orleans, 1456.

(1) One of the gentlemen who escorted her from Vaucouleurs to Chinon.

(2) The other gentleman who journeyed with her to Chinon, and who defrayed the expenses.

(3) He was by the king, appointed her chaplain.

R.

96. Messire William, lord of Ricarville, an esquire, steward of the king's household, aged 60.—Orleans, the 8th of March, 1456.

97. Master John Riquier, rector of the parish of Hendicourt in the diocese of Rouen, aged 46.—Rouen, the 9th of May, 1456.

98. William Rouillart, aged 46.—Orleans, 1456.

S.

99. Master Stephen de Siona, rector of the parish of Rossey, aged 54.—29th of January, 1456,

100. Master Robert de Savrecaulx, priest, and licentiate in canon law, canon of St. Aignan, at Orleans, aged 68.—Orleans, 1456.

101. Seguin de Seguini, of the order of Friars-preachers, dean of the faculty of theology, at Poictiers, aged 70.—Paris, the 19th of May, 1456.

102. Jacquier de St. Aman, a labourer residing at Domremy, aged 60.—The 29th of January, 1455.

103. Conradin Spinac, a labourer at Domremy, aged 60.—The 30th of January in the same year.

104. Isabella, his wife, aged 50.—The same day.

T.

105. Messire Gebert Thibaut, esquire or equerry to the king, aged 50.—The 5th of April, 1456.

106. Dame Margaret de Touroulde, widow of Master Reynold de Bouligny, counsellor to the king, aged 64.(1)—The 30th of April, 1456.

107. Reynold Thierry, dean of the collegiate church of Meung-sur-Yevre, aged 64.—Orleans, 8th of March, 1456.

108. Master John Typhac, priest, physician, and canon of the holy chapel at Paris, aged 60.—The 10th of January, and 2d of April, 1456.

109. Master Nicholas Tasquel, priest and rector of Vasqueville, in the diocese of Rouen, aged 52.—The 8th of May, 1452.

110. Master Peter Tasquel, rector of Bas-

(1) When examined at Poictiers, she resided with this lady.

queville-le-Martel.—Rouen, the 11th of May, 1456.

111. John Toutmouille, of the order of friars-preachers.—The 5th of March, 1450.*

112. Master Thevenin, a notary of Chermisey, aged 70.—Domremy, the 29th of January, 1456.

113. Joan, the wife of Thevenin, aged 70.—The same place and date.

114. Jeannette Thiesselin, widow, aged 60.—The same place and date.

115. James Thru, aged 50.—Orleans, 1456.

U. and V.

116 Albert, lord des Urches, an esquire, aged 60.—Toul, the 5th of February, 1455.

117. Master Aignan Viole, parliamentary advocate, aged 50.—Paris, 1456.

118. John Vautier, a labourer at Greu, born at Domremy, aged 45.—The 30th of January, 1455.

119. John Violet, aged 70.—Orleans, 1456.

120. Peter Vaillet, aged 60.—Same place and year.

Taken by M. du Fresnoy, from the process of justification.

XII.

EXTRACT FROM THE DEFINITIVE SENTENCE OF JOAN D'ARC'S ABSOLUTION AND JUSTIFICATION.

In honour and reverence of the holy, sacred, and indivisible trinity of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Our Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus, God and man, by the eternal majesty and providence instituted and ordained first St. Peter and his apostles, with their successors, to rule and govern the church militant, to observe and regard chiefly the truth, and to teach and shew all true travellers, the paths and ways of justice and equity, to set right the wanderers, console the desolate, to comfort and relieve the oppressed, and to re-conduct into the straight road.

For these causes, by authority of the holy apostolical see, we, John, reverend father in God, archbishop of Rheims, and William,

reverend father in God, bishop of Paris, and Richard, by the grace of God, bishop of Coutances, and John Brehal, doctor in theology, of the order of Friars-preachers, inquisitor of heresy and idolatry, in the kingdom of France, judges delegated and ordained by our holy father, at this time pope.

Having seen the process before us, solemnly debated and examined, and in virtue and power of the apostolical mandate, addressing itself to us, by us reverently received; and collected on the part of the virtuous and excellent lady Isabel d'Arc, widow of the late James d'Arc, and formerly mother of Joan d'Arc, and of John and Peter d'Arc, of happy memory, natural and legitimate brothers of Joan, commonly called the maid, and (on the part) of all her relations, parties, by their names taken, against the inquisitor of the faith, appointed to the diocese of Beauvais, against the official proctor to the episcopal court of Beauvais, against William de Hellande, bishop of Beauvais, and against all other

claiming profit and interest in this matter, as well jointly as separately.

Having seen and considered all, &c. &c.

We being at our high tribunal, having always God before our eyes, by a definitive sentence, given and uttered in our judicial seat and high tribunal, we, before-mentioned, do utter, pronounce, decree, and declare, that the said process, full of frauds, cavils, corruptions, and wholly repugnant to justice and equity, containing manifest errors and abuses, likewise the aforesaid abjuration, and all the false and iniquitous executions that have proceeded from, and followed it, ought to be abrogated, annulled, torn, and destroyed. And moreover, inasmuch as justice and reason, persuade, and command us, we abrogate, dissever, disannul, and discharge them from all force, power, value, and virtue. And we sentence and declare the said Joan, (whom God deliver), her brothers, and relations, actors and appellants, never to have contracted or incurred any spot or stain of infamy; (but) by reason and occasion of premises, in-

nocent, inculpable, and exempt from the crime and sin which falsely they imputed to the said maid. Furthermore, we enjoin public and solemn notice and execution of our said sentence, to be done immediately and without delay, in this town and city of Rouen, in two places, that is to say, one this day, in the square and burying-ground of St. Owen, at which place, a general procession shall be made, and a solemn sermon, by a venerable doctor in theology; and the other, at the old market-place, where the general procession shall go to-morrow morning, and there shall be made a solemn sermon, by a venerable doctor in theology; to wit, in the place in which the said maid was cruelly and horribly burnt and suffocated. And after the solemn preaching, handsome and befitting crosses shall be set up, in remembrance and perpetual memory of the said deceased maid, and all others departed, as well in this said city of Rouen, as in other places of this kingdom there, where we shall see fit and expedient to give eminent sign, memory, and certification to the execution and notice of our sentence, and if any

things are yet to settle, ordain, and accomplish, we reserve them to our power, and disposal, and of right.

This present sentence was given, read, and published by Messieurs, the judges before-mentioned, in presence of the reverend father in God, bishop of Mans, Hector Cocquerel, Alan Olivier, Nicholas du Bois, John de Gouis, and several others. And was done at the archiepiscopal palace of Rouen, in the year of grace, one thousand, four hundred and fifty-six, the seventh day of the month of July. And in this case, gave sentence, John, by the grace of God, archbishop of Rheims, William, reverend father in God, lord bishop of Paris, and Richard, by divine permission, lord bishop of Coutances.

Taken by M. du Fresnoy, in the original French, the Latin copies being only translations. This sentence was thought too prolix, to insert the whole.

FINIS.

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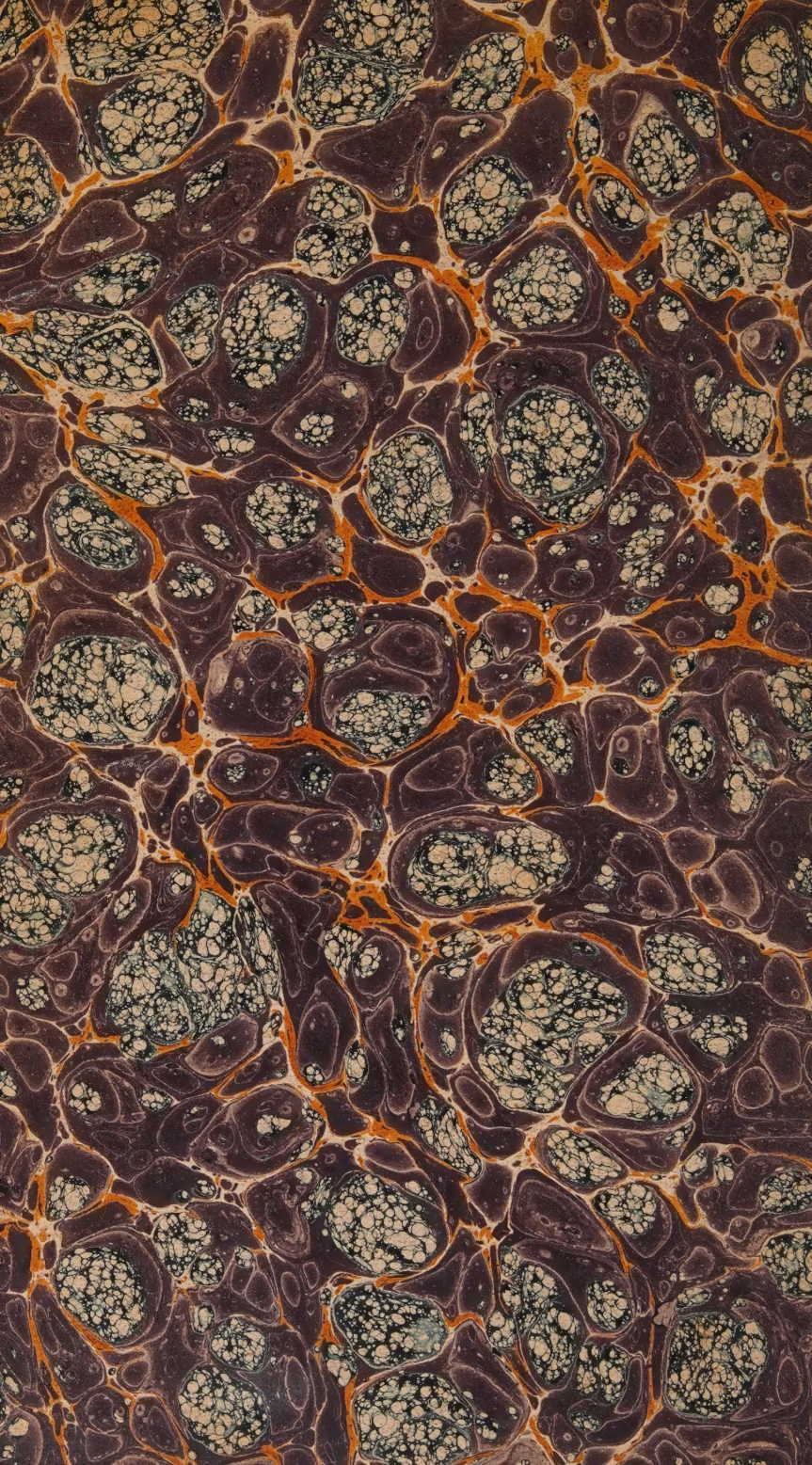

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~~Fregney~~, Lenglet du Fresnoy
AUTHOR

Memoirs of Joan D'Arc, or, Du Lys.
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